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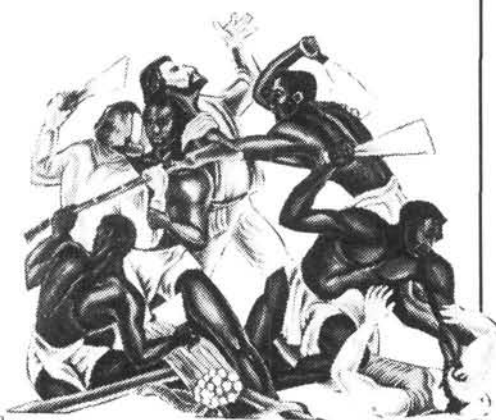
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## In This Issue

The best-known modern interpreters of the French revolution have stressed the primacy of social and economic factors in driving events. Recently, scholars have challenged this emphasis and turned their attention to political actions, in particular, the redefinition of the state. **Michael P. Fitzsimmons** pursues this new approach by exploring the idea of the nation as it developed in reaction to corporate privilege after the failure of the Assembly of Notables. Fitzsimmons focuses on the actions of the National Assembly during the night of August 4th and argues that these actions can be given coherence and consistency by viewing them within a broader context in which the people increasingly accepted the idea of the nation and rejected privilege as a foundation of the state.

Moving in the opposite direction but also against an established interpretive emphasis, **Diane P. Koenker** and **William G. Rosenberg** turn away from party politics as an explanation for the Russian revolution of 1917 and investigate social struggle, especially labor protest. They look at the changing character of strikes, worker protests in factories, and street actions during the year of the revolution and analyze the means employed by workers, management, and government to accommodate protest and define its limits. Though using a number of quantitative indexes, Koenker and Rosenberg also explore subjective aspects of protest and demonstrate the innovative and purposeful nature of the actions of workers. They explain the link between local protest and the larger political transformation that established a political culture based on new rules of conduct.

It is known that changing reproductive behavior accompanied the evolution of stable state organizations in the Middle Ages of Western Europe. Germanic kings, who indulged themselves with multiple sexual companions and thereby produced numerous contenders for the monarchy, yielded in time to the exhortations of churchmen and the exigencies of economic and political pressures. They made their behavior conform to the principles of monogamy, legitimacy, and primogeniture, and so facilitated an orderly succession. Missing from the large outline has been a laboratory for examining this transformation in detail. **Jenny M. Jochens** discovers such a laboratory in Norse history, whose early stage of kingship was protracted and unusually well documented in narrative sources. She finds that her sources are especially important in allowing us to locate the women involved with royalty and understand their actions. Jochens is able not only to restore the women hidden in male genealogies to their rightful place in the reproductive process but she also shows them to be active agents in the political process, as they designed and executed strategies to assure the succession of their royal children.

**George C. Herring** reviews three recent works on the Vietnam war, each of which represents a different point of view—conservative, liberal, and radical. Although the lines of division mirror those at the time of the war, Herring contends that these works signal a new stage in the historiography of the Vietnam conflict, because they deploy a greater array of source materials and more sophisticated argumentation than did earlier studies.

**Dale Reed** and **Michael Jakobson** describe previously unknown archival papers of Leon Trotsky and his son, Lev Sedov. These large files were found in an unused portion of the Boris Nicolaevsky Collection at the Hoover Institution. Reed and Jakobson trace the history of the dispersal of the Trotsky archive and compare the portion of it discovered at the Hoover with Trotsky papers held in other repositories in the United States and the Netherlands.

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## Privilege and the Polity in France, 1786–1791

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MICHAEL P. FITZSIMMONS

FOR MORE THAN A GENERATION, SCHOLARS HAVE ANALYZED THE FRENCH REVOLUTION primarily as the product of social and economic conflict between a rising capitalist bourgeoisie and a dominant feudal aristocracy.<sup>1</sup> Even the critique offered by Alfred Cobban centered more on the composition of the “revolutionary bourgeoisie” than on the validity of social explication as a vehicle of interpretation. Cobban’s critique, however, initiated a bitter debate that produced a stalemate, leaving interpretation of the revolution, in the assessment of one participant in 1967, in a “painful void.”<sup>2</sup> In the following years, scholars attempted to break the stalemate by devoting greater attention to political or intellectual forces, without altogether dismissing social components of the revolution.<sup>3</sup> But a more explicit political interpretation, which explains the revolution chiefly as a redefinition of the state and relegates social or class considerations to a secondary position, has recently begun to emerge. The process by which the desire to transform the state came into being has been less often examined in its own right. The new interpretation has been used instead in a comparative analysis of the French, Russian, and Chinese revolutions, in a study of the transformation wrought by the French Revolution in French politics and political culture, and has been treated as a factor, albeit a critical one, in the experience of two disparate social groups—artisans and the nobility—during the revolution.<sup>4</sup> This article considers the role

I would like to thank Kenneth Margerison, Alan Forrest, and the anonymous readers for the *AHR* for their comments, which helped me clarify some issues. I would also like to thank the Dean of Humanities and the Department of History at Rice University for partial support of the research for this article.

<sup>1</sup> For an able and concise historiographical survey of the revolution, see William Doyle, *Origins of the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1980), especially Part I.

<sup>2</sup> George V. Taylor, “Noncapitalist Wealth and the Origins of the French Revolution,” *AHR*, 72 (1967): 490.

<sup>3</sup> The following selective list is limited to books. Denis Richet, *La France moderne: L'Esprit des institutions* (Paris, 1973); Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, *La Noblesse au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: De la féodalité aux lumières* (Paris, 1976); Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, *Une Histoire des élites, 1700–1848* (Paris, 1975); Norman Hampson, *The French Revolution: A Concise History* (London, 1975); J. M. Roberts, *The French Revolution* (Oxford, 1978); François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1981), which contains material not included in the original, *Penser la Révolution française* (Paris, 1978). This literature, and much more, has been summarized by Doyle, *Origins of the French Revolution*, 7–40, and the remainder of the work is a masterful revisionist synthesis on the origins of the revolution.

<sup>4</sup> Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China* (Cambridge, 1979); William H. Sewell, Jr., *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848* (Cambridge, 1980); Patrice Higonnet, *Class, Ideology and the Rights of Nobles during*

of privilege and the idea of redefining the state as factors in the origin and development of the revolution from 1786 to 1791.

UNDER THE OLD REGIME, FRENCH SOCIETY WAS ORGANIZED CORPORATIVELY; the individual had essentially no standing.<sup>5</sup> Underpinning the corporate identity of nearly all groups and individuals in society was privilege, the useful or honorable distinctions certain members of society possessed that others did not enjoy.<sup>6</sup> Privilege was the primary instrument of government and the chief medium of political exchange between the state and society. At the beginning of each reign, for example, one method that the new monarch used to announce his accession to the throne was to issue an edict to different provinces confirming the privileges of that province. Through this edict, the monarch tacitly acknowledged the rights of his subjects, who, in turn, implicitly recognized the legitimacy of his claim. This understanding became a starting point for the reign that, in substance if not in form, was perhaps as important as the coronation ceremony itself. In fact, one scholar has argued that privileged corporatism in France was "the functional equivalent" of constitutionalism in England.<sup>7</sup>

Whether under the rubric of *privilèges*, *statuts particuliers*, *lois privées*, or similar designations, privilege was the Crown's principal mechanism for dealing with the various constituent elements in society. The Brittany Affair, which began when the province of Brittany invoked its provincial privilege to challenge the right of the Crown to build military roads in the province, illustrates the role of privilege as the major political currency of the Old Regime and buttresses the notion of it as a surrogate for constitutionalism, for privilege ultimately developed into a major

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*the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1981); Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984). For an indication of how unsettled this new interpretation is, see William H. Sewell, Jr., "Ideologies and Social Revolutions: Reflections on the French Case," *Journal of Modern History*, 57 (March 1985): 57–85, and Theda Skocpol, "Cultural Idioms and Political Ideologies in the Revolutionary Reconstruction of State Power: A Rejoinder to Sewell," *Journal of Modern History*, 57 (March 1985): 86–96.

<sup>5</sup> On the corporate nature of French society under the Old Regime, see Roland Mousnier, *Les Institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue 1598–1789*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1974–80); Emile Coornaert, *Les Corporations en France avant 1789* (Paris, 1941); François Jean Olivier-Martin, *L'Organisation corporative de la France de l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1939); Sewell, *Work and Revolution in France*; David D. Bien, "The *Secrétaires du Roi*: Absolutism, Corps and Privilege under the Ancien Regime," in Ernst Hinrichs, Eberhard Schmitt, and Rudolph Vierhaus, eds., *Vom Ancien Régime zur Französischen Revolution* (Göttingen, 1978), 153–68; William H. Sewell, Jr., "Etat, Corps and Ordre: Some Notes on the Social Vocabulary of the French Old Regime," in Hans Ulrich Wehler, ed., *Sozialgeschichte Heute: Festschrift für Hans Rosenberg zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen, 1974), 48–68; and Dietrich Gerhard, *Old Europe: A Study of Continuity, 1000–1800* (New York, 1981). On the insignificance of the individual within the Old Regime, see Hubert Méthivier, *L'Ancien Régime en France XVI<sup>e</sup>, XVII<sup>e</sup>, XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1981), 28; and Pierre Goubert and Daniel Roche, *Les Français et l'Ancien Régime*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1984), 1: 160–61. For an excellent illustration of how this paradigm was apprehended by contemporaries, see Robert Darnton, "A Bourgeois Puts His World in Order: The City as a Text," in *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York, 1984), 116–24.

<sup>6</sup> *Encyclopédie; ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société des gens de lettres*, Denis Diderot and Jean Lerond d'Alembert, eds., 17 vols. (Paris, 1751–65), 13: 389.

<sup>7</sup> On privilege and its use as a medium of exchange, see, for example, Archives Départementales (hereafter, AD) Côte d'Or C 2975, C 2976, C 2977, or AD, Ille-et-Vilaine C 3129, C 3130, C 3131; on privileged corporatism as the equivalent of constitutionalism, see Bien, "The *Secrétaires du Roi*," 159.

constitutional crisis, as the *parlements* asserted a claim of sovereign power.<sup>8</sup> For the most part, however, as long as the authority of the Crown was not challenged in the fundamental fashion that it had been in the rebellions of the seventeenth century or in the Brittany Affair, the Crown was generally prepared to compromise or even yield when its claims collided with entrenched privilege. Conversely, most corporate bodies were not inclined to confront the Crown as long as it respected their immunities and privileges. It was through this compromise that privileged corporatism became the superintending principle of Old Regime society.<sup>9</sup>

The financial crisis of 1786 endangered this relationship, for it made clear that the state could no longer afford one of the most important sectors of privilege, its fiscal component. The deterioration of the Crown's financial position—its debt had tripled in the previous fifteen years, and more than half of its revenues were slated for debt service—led Controller-General Calonne in August, 1786, to present Louis XVI with a memorandum outlining a plan for improving the financial position of the Crown. Noting that France was an imperfect kingdom in which “privileges tear asunder all equilibrium,” Calonne urged the monarch to embark on a major reform of the state and especially attack fiscal privilege.<sup>10</sup>

Calonne's memorandum contained several proposals for fundamental reform in the fiscal, administrative, and economic spheres, but perhaps its most critical element was a “territorial subvention” or proportional land tax to be paid in kind by landowners, with no exceptions. Fully aware that the *parlements* and provincial estates would oppose his program, Calonne sought to outmaneuver them by convening an Assembly of Notables to which he would present his program. Confident of its approval, Calonne hoped to avoid the opposition of the Parlement of Paris, which would have to register the proposals before they could be implemented. Because Louis delayed giving his approval to the plan until late December, the Assembly did not convene until 22 February 1787.

<sup>8</sup> Méthivier, *L'Ancien Régime en France*, 461.

<sup>9</sup> The attitude of the Crown on issues of privilege is evident in two incidents. During the tenure of Controller-General Machault d'Arnouville, Louis XV yielded on the *vingtième* after it provoked protest among major privileged groups. By contrast, Louis's vigor in the episode of the Maupeou *parlements*, despite the opposition it raised, arose from the fact that the *parlements* had challenged the sovereignty of the Crown. It was a struggle that ended only with Louis's death. On Machault, see Marcel Marion, *Machault d'Arnouville: Etude sur l'histoire du contrôle général des finances 1749 à 1754* (Paris, 1891), and Méthivier, *L'Ancien Régime en France*, 436–37; on Maupeou, see Robert Villiers, *L'Organisation du Parlement de Paris et des conseils supérieurs d'après la réforme de Maupeou* (Paris, 1937), and J. H. Shennan, *The Parlement of Paris* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1968), 318–19. For overviews of this compromise as establishing privileged corporatism as the superintending principle of Old Regime society, see Georges Durand, *Etats et institutions XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1969), especially 278; Pierre Goubert, *L'Ancien Régime*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1969–73), 2: 15–19; Marcel Marion, *Histoire financière de la France depuis 1715*, 6 vols. (Paris: 1927–31), 1: 1–62, an essential starting point for understanding the extent of privilege as well as its nefarious effects, especially financially. See also Sewell, “Ideologies and Social Revolutions,” 62–64.

<sup>10</sup> Much of what follows is based on Albert Goodwin, “Calonne, the Assembly of French Notables of 1787 and the Origins of the *Révolution Nobiliaire*,” *English Historical Review*, 61 (1946): 202–34, 329–77, and Jean Egret, *La Pré-Révolution française* (Paris, 1962). The quote is from page 210 of Goodwin's article. Marion, *Histoire financière de la France depuis 1715*, vol. 1, is still useful as background; one may also consult *Journal de l'Assemblée des Notables de 1787*, Pierre Chevallier, ed. (Paris, 1960); and Pierre Renouvin, *L'Assemblée des Notables de 1787: La Conférence du 2 mars* (Paris, 1920).

From the beginning, the Crown made it clear that the critical issue in the resolution of the financial crisis was privilege. Louis concluded his brief opening speech to the Notables by expressing the hope that they would not favor private interests over the public good. Calonne was even more explicit. He presented an analysis of the financial situation and told the Notables that it was no longer possible to rely on the financial expedients of the past. He asserted that only two courses of action were available, and that one of them, admission of state bankruptcy, was unthinkable. The remaining solution was the destruction of social, political, and fiscal abuses. In the context in which he spoke, it was clear that by "abuses" Calonne was referring to the privileges enjoyed by most of the Notables. He then outlined his program, emphasizing that its ultimate aim was the public good.<sup>11</sup>

The Notables, angered by the seemingly pliant role to which they had been consigned and dismayed by Calonne's attack on privilege, resisted his program from the outset. Their opposition was resolute, ingenious, and successfully avoided the pitfalls that Calonne had hoped would trap them. In order not to alienate public opinion, the Notables endorsed the principle of fiscal equality and even voluntarily renounced their proposed exemption from a minor direct tax (*capitation*). For most of the Notables, however, these actions were mere ploys to deceive public opinion, for they opposed the land tax vigorously, ostensibly on constitutional and administrative grounds. They took advantage of the inaccessibility of the accounts on which Calonne had based his calculations to express doubt about the need for the tax.<sup>12</sup> In the following weeks, relations between Calonne and the Notables deteriorated as they took no action on his program. Calonne, utterly exasperated by the disparity between the Notables' private deliberations and public pronouncements, commissioned a pamphlet against them calling attention to their defense of privilege.<sup>13</sup> On 8 April, however, soon after the pamphlet's appearance, the king dismissed Calonne from office because of the continuing impasse.

Despite the dismissal, Louis still wished to implement the program that Calonne had devised. At the same time, he recognized that the objections of the Notables could not be disregarded; the proposals would have to be modified. On 23 April, in a personal address to the Notables to urge passage of the land tax, Louis made several significant concessions. He met, in fact, nearly all the objections they had raised. Among other actions, he limited the duration of the tax and made it proportional to the deficits, as they had asked. He also agreed to grant them access to the financial accounts that Calonne had prepared. Shortly afterward, as the accounts were being transmitted to the Notables, Louis appointed Loménie de Brienne, a leading member of the opposition within the Notables, minister without portfolio, and Brienne soon took control of finances for the Crown.

<sup>11</sup> *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée des Notables tenue à Versailles, en l'année 1787* (Paris, 1788), 42, 45–66, especially 59.

<sup>12</sup> Goodwin, "Calonne, the Assembly of French Notables of 1787," 344–45.

<sup>13</sup> "Avertissement," in Charles Alexandre de Calonne, *De l'état de la France, présent et à venir*, 5th edn. (London, 1790), 436–40.



Quickly after Brienne's appointment, the Notables began to examine the accounts. They found them difficult to understand, and, though they could not agree on the size of the deficit, they admitted that it was a considerable amount. Their main response, however, was to urge the king to pursue greater economies than those previously announced and to suggest some administrative measures to prevent future deficits. Brienne for his part sought to focus the attention of the Notables on the current deficit. In a conference with several key members on 9 May, Brienne, recognizing that the Notables had not been able to agree on the amount of the deficit, suggested taking an average of the various estimates reached by each of the subcommittees into which the Assembly had been subdivided. He announced a further cut in state expenditures of approximately forty million *livres*, although he warned the Notables that no additional reductions could be expected. Finally, to treat the remainder of the deficit, Brienne's major proposal was a land tax, to be fixed in proportion to the deficit each year and paid in money, as the Notables had earlier suggested.<sup>14</sup> The proposal was essentially similar to those put forward by Calonne, except that it incorporated precepts introduced by the Notables, especially the provision making the land tax repartitional—to be readjusted each year to produce a specified amount in relation to the deficit—rather than proportional—a fixed percentage that would remain constant and produce varying amounts of revenue from year to year. In the days following the meeting, the Notables, who were dismayed to see Brienne adopt much of Calonne's program, did not discuss the projects that he had proposed. Instead, they examined deficiencies in financial administration and formulated measures that the Crown, in effect, agreed to consider. Only slowly and reluctantly did the Notables begin to consider Brienne's program, but, on 19 May, the Notables indicated that they could not approve the land tax.

The subcommittees offered different reasons for their opposition. Some justified their position by stating that the complexity of the financial accounts kept them from determining the size of the deficit, which in turn meant that they could not estimate the amount of revenue that the tax should produce, how long it should be in effect, or even whether it was needed at all. Others declared that the Assembly should not anticipate the decision of the *parlements*. Lastly, all but one of the subcommittees rejected the tax on the premise that, since the Assembly was not a representative body, it was not truly empowered to consent to it.<sup>15</sup> In the face of this intransigence, Brienne realized that he had little choice but to dissolve the Assembly, which he did on 25 May.

After more than three months, then, the Assembly disbanded without resolving the financial crisis that had been the occasion for its convocation. Since the Notables had negotiated with the Crown on the land tax and other issues for the previous three months, their protestation that they were not empowered to assent to the land tax rang hollow. Instead, their sudden abdication after the Crown had met most of their demands and adopted nearly all of their recommendations created

<sup>14</sup> Goodwin, "Calonne, the Assembly of French Notables of 1787," 368–69.

<sup>15</sup> Goodwin, "Calonne, the Assembly of French Notables of 1787," 373.

the perception that they were unwilling to yield their fiscal privileges in the interest of the solvency of the state.<sup>16</sup> To most contemporaries, it appeared that privilege had triumphed over the well-being of the French nation.

Until recently, this was generally the verdict of historians as well, but, largely through the recent work of Vivian Gruder, the difficult position of the Notables has received greater attention. The Assembly of Notables was the first body, and one fairly narrow in scope, to have to confront the possibility that a major readjustment of privilege was necessary. Just as Calonne adhered to monarchical tradition by refraining from calling the Estates-General, the Notables, drawn largely from the political elite of the Old Regime, shared an antithetical tradition—suspicion of “ministerial despotism.” Some may have inferred that Calonne’s program would give the Crown the financial independence to make it potentially despotic. In this context, the Notables viewed privilege positively, as a bulwark against despotism, and some may have believed that their actions constituted a necessary defense. Despotism, for them, was the primary issue.

In this respect, their resistance may not have been as self-interested as earlier historians such as Albert Goodwin concluded. Nevertheless, Gruder’s argument that the Notables’ opposition to the land tax was not an attempt to escape taxation but an effort to “redistribute power in the conduct of public affairs” and enact the right to “consent” is clearly too favorable an interpretation of their actions.<sup>17</sup> Her assertion, for example, that nobles were no longer primarily concerned with defending fiscal privilege or opposing fiscal equality because they were already paying taxes, albeit at a lower rate than the peasants, betrays a misunderstanding of privilege. Privilege was not necessarily absolute—the fact that nobles were taxed does not mean that they were not privileged. The lower rate at which they were taxed in comparison with the peasants also represented privilege, which the proposals of Calonne and Brienne would have ended. More important, Gruder undercut her thesis by first asserting that the Notables’ demand for a repartitional tax was at the heart of their stand of “no taxation without consent” and then neglecting to deal with the fact that on 9 May the Crown offered to make the tax repartitional, only to have the Notables spurn its offer. Gruder evidently saw no contradiction between the Notables’ claim to be representative and legislative when they challenged the Crown for information or offered counterproposals and their abjuration of this status when asked to approve the land tax. Her explanation—that “their assumed powerlessness was their greatest power to force the monarchy . . . to seek the full and formal consent of the nation”—would be more convincing

<sup>16</sup> For evidence that, for many, the preservation of privilege was paramount, see AD, Ille-et-Vilaine C 1799, letter of intendant, Bertrand, to Calonne and de Breuteuil, 10 January 1787; AD, Ille-et-Vilaine C 3899, letter of commission of Estates of Brittany to Bishop of Dol, 2 February 1787; letters of commissioners of Estates of Brittany to deputies at the Assembly of Notables, 28 March 1787 and 3 April 1787; the declaration of the notables from Brittany in AD, Côte d’Or C 3476, *Cahier des délibérations du premier bureau présidé par M. frère du Roi Assemblée des Notables 1787*; and AD, Côte d’Or C 3476, *Observations en forme d’avis sur les différens Mémoires présentés à l’Assemblée des Notables en 1787: Observations conservatoires des droits et privilèges de la Province de Bourgogne* (undated, but between 7 and 23 March 1787).

<sup>17</sup> Vivian R. Gruder, “No Taxation without Representation: The Assembly of Notables of 1787 and Political Ideology in France,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 7 (1982): 263–79.

if the Notables had assumed this posture initially or at an earlier point, rather than after three months of difficult negotiations, during which the Crown had met nearly all their demands. Finally, there are incidents that reveal the intentions of the Notables that Gruder does not include. Their opposition to the principle of precedence by age in the provincial assemblies and their insistence that the office of president be limited to members of the first two estates indicate that the Notables were more concerned with preserving their own position than with seeking to "redistribute power in the conduct of public affairs."<sup>18</sup>

Gruder has recently amended her initial position, but problems remain.<sup>19</sup> Although she conceded that the Notables may have had self-interested motives, she continued to assert that they were not defending specific privileges but sought to transform political authority. Gruder still admitted no contradiction between the aggressiveness of the Notables while negotiating and the abdication of responsibility when the time for a decision arrived, a change she ascribed to "ambivalence." Since their status as appointed rather than elected representatives was evident before they claimed to be "representative and legislative," for them to cite such a circumstance at the end, when asked to approve reforms that had been significantly modified to meet their objections, was, at best, disingenuous. In addition, Gruder has not satisfactorily explained why the Notables, who had argued for a repartitional tax (in fact, she called the Crown's offer of a repartitional tax on 9 May "their victory") spurned it in the end, except to ascribe it to this same ambivalence.<sup>20</sup>

If the Notables had a program or intention that went beyond the defense of privilege, why did they not implement it when Brienne took office? This was a moment of great power for them, and Gruder never convincingly explained why they repudiated Brienne, one of their own, as they did. If they were truly seeking to transform political authority with a broader national consciousness, why did they endorse the decision of the Parlement of Paris to abide by the procedures of 1614 at a time when the redistribution of power in public affairs was precisely the issue at stake? In asserting that some of the Notables were acting on motives other than self-interest, Gruder unquestionably offered a useful corrective to Goodwin, but she failed to address sufficiently the limitations and contradictions in the positions of the Notables.

Until the publication of Calonne's pamphlet, an action one scholar has termed the most ambitious attempt to cultivate the French public since Jacques Necker's *Compte rendu*, the proceedings of the Assembly had not been made public.<sup>21</sup> The revelations of the pamphlet shocked French subjects who had an interest in public affairs. In an age when economics was, for the most part, imperfectly understood, the deficit and its consequences were not fully comprehended, except for a

<sup>18</sup> Gruder, "No Taxation," 265, 274.

<sup>19</sup> Vivian R. Gruder, "Paths to Political Consciousness: The Assembly of Notables of 1787 and the 'Pre-Revolution' in France," *French Historical Studies*, 13 (1984): 323–55, and "A Mutation in Elite Political Culture: The French Notables and the Defense of Property and Participation, 1787," *Journal of Modern History*, 56 (1984): 598–634.

<sup>20</sup> Gruder, "A Mutation in Elite Political Culture," 615.

<sup>21</sup> Doyle, *Origins of the French Revolution*, 102.

pervasive sense that a deficit was inimical to France.<sup>22</sup> More important, the apparent assertion of privilege over the financial equilibrium and general well-being of society caused many individuals to reconsider the nature of the French state. Was it primarily an aggregate of privileged corporations or a grander entity defined by common bonds and ideals? A prominent characteristic of the period between the dissolution of the Assembly of Notables and the opening of the Estates-General is the extent to which the traditional notion of the state underwent a fundamental reexamination. This reconsideration, though amorphous and heterogeneous, had as its most dominant issue a concern about the role of privilege in the body politic.

THE SUBSTANCE OF THE REEVALUATION WAS A MOVEMENT FROM acceptance of privilege as a valid principle of state governance to rejection of it as injurious to the common weal. The best-known manifestation of the re-evaluation is, of course, *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat?*, by the Abbé Sieyès, whom several scholars have tended to view as the personification of the revolution.<sup>23</sup> But, before he composed *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat?*, Sieyès wrote a pamphlet entitled *Essai sur les privilèges*, which reflects the metamorphosis of the question of privilege that occurred during this period.

For the sake of argument, Sieyès conceded the legitimate (*pure*) origins of privilege in the polity but argued that its current effect was either to exempt specific individuals from the law or grant them the right to do something not intrinsically illegal. The essential character of privilege was to be outside the common law. Since the goal of positive law (*la loi*) was to protect liberty and property in order to prevent injury to others in society, to exempt an individual from it was to recognize a right to injure others. Similarly, if one individual had the exclusive right to do something not intrinsically illegal, this right in effect deprived others of a portion of their liberty, for anything that was not illegal was part of the civil domain and thus belonged to all. Sieyès concluded that, by their very nature, privileges were "unjust, odious and inconsistent with the ultimate aim of all political association." After an extended discussion of the pernicious effect of privilege on society, Sieyès called for a vigorous attack on it.<sup>24</sup> Much like the subsequent *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat?*, the *Essai sur les privilèges* was an extreme articulation of a vague ideal. The vehemence of Sieyès's denunciation and his intolerance even of honorific privilege

<sup>22</sup> Many pamphlets opened with an elementary explanation of what a deficit was. See, for example, *Considérations intéressantes sur les affaires présentes* (Paris, 1788), 3; or *Le Vritable patriotisme* (n.p., 1788), 1–2. For a retrospective example of the unease brought about by the financial crisis, see Archives Nationales (hereafter, AN), C 117, dossier 325, document 12; AN, C 117, dossier 329, document 25. Skocpol's emphasis on the European state system as a backdrop to the revolution should be underscored. Although generally not postulated in terms of war or military strength, concern about the threat that the deficit represented to the standing of France in Europe was a common theme.

<sup>23</sup> Most recently, Sewell, *Work and Revolution in France*, 78–84, Higonnet, *Class, Ideology and the Rights of Nobles*, 255–56, and, less strongly, Colin Lucas, "Nobles, Bourgeois and the Origins of the French Revolution," *Past and Present*, 60 (August 1973): 124, and Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 2.

<sup>24</sup> *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat? Par Emmanuel Sieyès, précédé de l'Essai sur les privilèges*, Edme Champion, ed. (Paris, 1888), 1–26, with the quote from p. 3. See also Paul Bastid, *Sieyès et sa pensée* (Paris, 1970), 55–56.



were more advanced positions than those generally held. Even so, as one of the clearer expositions of the issue confronting France between 1787 and 1789—the role of privilege in the polity—the *Essai*, along with Sieyès's subsequent work, struck a responsive chord.<sup>25</sup>

Although Sieyès's statement had been general and theoretical, the catalyst for the questioning of privilege had been France's financial crisis; consequently, public debate focused chiefly on fiscal privilege.<sup>26</sup> The contrast between the manifest financial needs of the state and fiscal privilege set up an unambiguous duality between them: privilege and "the nation" became mutually exclusive categories. A choice of one or the other had to be made, and the ramifications of this choice formed the undercurrent for much of the agitation that convulsed France during this time.

The position of the Crown for much of the duration of this struggle was ambiguous. On the one hand, the Crown could be viewed as a victim of privilege, since it had struggled unsuccessfully against privilege at the Assembly of Notables.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, as the guarantor of privilege and the traditional ally of the "privileged orders," the Crown could also be seen as deeply implicated in privilege.<sup>28</sup> Amid the conviction that France was being crippled by privilege, the ambiguity of the Crown's position led to its overshadowing. As the notion of "regenerating" France grew, the term "nation," which centered on a commonality of interests ("the common good"), slowly began to establish itself over that of "kingdom," which remained associated with privilege. The process culminated during the drafting of the *cahiers* in 1789.<sup>29</sup>

Leaders of public opinion urged the convening of the Estates-General to address the country's problems, and its composition and voting procedure assumed an

<sup>25</sup> Etienne Dumont, *Souvenirs sur Mirabeau et sur les deux premières assemblées législatives, nouvelle édition . . . publiée avec une introduction et des notes par J. Bénétruy* (Paris, 1951), 44, 64. Perhaps the other major statement on privilege is that by Jean Paul Rabaut Saint-Etienne, *Considérations sur les intérêts du tiers état, adressées au peuple des provinces, par un propriétaire foncier* (n.p., 1788).

<sup>26</sup> AD, Ille-et-Vilaine C 3900, *Mémoire des avocats du Parlement de Bretagne, sur les moyens d'entretenir l'union entre les différents Ordres de l'Etat*; AD, Côte d'Or C 2987<sup>65</sup>, *Requête au Roi, et délibération du Tiers-Etat de la ville de Dijon, 1 janvier 1789; Voeu de plusieurs citoyens de trois ordres, et invitation à leurs concitoyens d'y adhérer* (n.p., n.d.), 7–8; *Observations sur le projet de former une Assemblée nationale sur le modèle des Etats-Généraux de 1614* (n.p., n.d.), 5–6; *Réflexions d'un citoyen de Franche-Comté, sur les privilèges et immunités de la noblesse* (n.p., n.d.), 1–2, 7. For an example of the dichotomy that developed between privilege and the nation, see *Cahiers de doléances du bailliage de Blois et du bailliage secondaire de Romorantin pour les Etats-Généraux de 1789*, Frédéric Lesueur and A. Cauchie, eds., 2 vols. (Blois, 1907–08), 1: 272.

<sup>27</sup> See, for example, Joseph Antoine Joachim Cérutti, *A la mémoire auguste de feu Monseigneur le Dauphin, Père du Roi* (n.p., n.d.), viii–ix, xi.

<sup>28</sup> *Mémoire des Princes présenté au Roi* (n.p., n.d.).

<sup>29</sup> On the passivity of the Crown, see *Correspondance secrète du comte de Mercy-Argenteau avec l'Empereur Joseph II et la Prince de Kaunitz*, Alfred d'Arneth, and Jules Flammermont, eds., 2 vols. (Paris, 1889–91), 2: 137–38. On the belief that privilege was harming the nation, see *Le Dernier mot du tiers-état à la noblesse de France* (n.p., n.d.), 1; *Qu'est-ce que la Noblesse, et que sont ses privilèges?* (Amsterdam, 1789), 1–2; and *Considérations sur l'injustice des prétensions du clergé et de la noblesse* (n.p., 1789), 20–21. For an example of the idea of the nation beginning to take root during this period, see Félix Faulcon, Gabriel Debieu, ed., 2 vols. (Poitiers, 1939–53), 1: 276, 336–37, 338; or, as but one of many pamphlets, Baumier, *Protestation contre la forme des Etats-Généraux de 1614, et seul moyen d'imprimer un caractère légal à celle de la prochaine Assemblée nationale. Suivie d'une lettre de MM. du Conseil Général de la ville de Nîmes en Languedoc, et d'une réponse au Mémoire des Six Corps des Marchands de Paris, par M. B\*\**. (n.p., 1788), 36–43. Also on the rise of the concept of the nation in this period, see Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 26–44.

elemental importance. Since the task of regeneration was comprehensive and the fiscal privileges of the clergy and nobility were the critical issues to be resolved, the traditional method of voting by order was not acceptable.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, the dichotomy between privilege and the well-being of the nation crystallized around the issue of voting, which gradually superseded the narrower question of fiscal privilege. With characteristic vagueness, the Crown decided in July, 1788, simply to solicit ideas about how the Estates-General should be constituted, an action that gave the debate a new intensity and import.<sup>31</sup>

The debate acquired even greater significance in the following month. On 8 August, only days before suspending payment on the debt, the Crown set 1 May 1789 as the date for the convening of the Estates-General. The Crown maintained its ambiguous position, however, renewing its call for more information and saying nothing about the procedures to be followed. One scholar has argued that the Crown's inconclusive stance was a calculated measure designed to encourage division in society: no longer able to postpone the promised convocation of the Estates-General, the Crown hoped to weaken it as an institution and render its deliberations unobjectionable by nurturing controversy over its composition and procedures.<sup>32</sup>

Whether desired by the Crown or not, the dispute continued unabated, particularly in late 1788, after the Parlement of Paris and a reconvened Assembly of Notables ruled that the Estates-General should meet as it had in 1614. The antithesis between privilege and the welfare of the nation crystallized more clearly than ever.<sup>33</sup> The larger dimensions that the quarrel was assuming so alarmed five princes of the blood that they agreed, in December, 1788, to yield the fiscal privileges of the clergy and the nobility in return for a cessation of the attacks on these groups.<sup>34</sup> The tone of their offer, however, was imperious and petulant and served primarily to intensify rather than still the controversy as several writings appeared in response to their statement.<sup>35</sup>

In January, 1789, the Crown issued regulations for the convening of the Estates-General. The provisions of these regulations lend credence to the belief

<sup>30</sup> To give but one example, see *Observations sur le projet de former une Assemblée nationale sur le modèle des Etats-Généraux de 1614* (n.p., n.d.).

<sup>31</sup> It was this decree in particular, of course, that instigated the outpouring of pamphlets in 1788 and 1789. Concern about censorship, however, led most pamphleteers to remain anonymous. Sieyès's pamphlets, for example, originally appeared anonymously, as did other well-known works, such as Rabaut de Saint-Etienne's *Considérations sur les intérêts du tiers-état*.

<sup>32</sup> Mitchell B. Garrett, *The Estates-General of 1789: The Problems of Composition and Organization* (New York, 1935), 25–40. More recently, R. B. Rose has discerned similar motives in the electoral arrangements for Paris. R. B. Rose, *The Making of the Sans-Culottes: Democratic Ideas and Institutions in Paris, 1789–1792* (Manchester, 1983), 24.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Cérutti, *A la mémoire auguste de feu Monseigneur le Dauphin, Père du Roi*, xi: "Twice the king has gathered them around himself to consult them on the interests of the throne and of the nation: what did the Notables do in 1787? They defended their privileges against the throne. What did the Notables do in 1788? They defended their privileges against the nation. The only friend of the throne, then, is the nation, and the only friend of the nation is the throne." (Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.)

<sup>34</sup> *Mémoire des Princes présenté au Roi*.

<sup>35</sup> *A monseigneur comte d'Artois* (n.p., n.d.); *Réflexions sur le mémoire des princes, par un avocat de Province* (n.p., n.d.); *Examen du mémoire des princes, présenté au Roi* (n.p., n.d.); *Modestes observations sur le Mémoire des Princes; faites au nom de 23 millions de citoyens français* (n.p., 1788), to give but a few examples.

that the Crown sought to encourage division in society over the Estates-General, for the regulations emphasized its atomized and fragmented nature. Members of the Third Estate, for example, were to assemble by corporation for the purpose of drafting *cahiers* and selecting delegates.<sup>36</sup> If this was the Crown's intention, it was counteracted by the process of drafting the *cahiers*, which gave rise to an inchoate but unifying concept of the nation.<sup>37</sup> In ways both large and small, the *cahiers* illustrate the reaction against privilege as a superintending principle of society and the desire to see "the nation" given greater precision and definition. Two principal goals to which many of the *cahiers* aspired were equality of taxation and uniformity within France, especially legal and administrative uniformity—the direct antithesis of the congeries of customs and privileges then in place.<sup>38</sup> The exaltation of the nation manifested itself in lesser ways as well; several *cahiers*, for example, wanted ennoblement to be a product not of wealth or nobility but of service to the nation.<sup>39</sup>

It would be incorrect to assume that, in the months preceding the Estates-General, there was a widespread sentiment in favor of the total extirpation of privilege within society. Rather, most participants in local assemblies sought to readjust privilege, particularly fiscal privilege, so that it would no longer be able to compete with or take priority over the interests of the nation as a whole.<sup>40</sup> The major subject of the *cahiers*, equality of taxation, was the primary representation of this goal.<sup>41</sup> Even within the emerging new ideal of "the nation," the abolition of orders and privilege was not implicit.<sup>42</sup> The objective was not the abolition of orders, but the doubling of the Third Estate's representation and the introduction of voting by head. The Third Estate of Dijon offers perhaps the best illustration of the limited goals before the revolution, in a statement made in January, 1789: "We will always respect distinctions founded on social order, and necessary to the glory and security of the state. The ministers of the altars will always have our respect; the heads of armies will always have our gratitude and our consideration;

<sup>36</sup> For the regulations, see Armand Brette, *Recueil de documents relatifs à la convocation des États-Généraux de 1789*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1894–1915), 1: 66–87.

<sup>37</sup> The word "nation" recurs consistently in the *cahiers*. Beatrice F. Hyslop, *French Nationalism in 1789 according to the General Cahiers*, rev. edn. (New York, 1968), 31. The notion had been expressed in pamphlets, of course, but the drafting of the *cahiers* provided a more systematic method and institutional framework that enabled the concept to engage more of the populace and establish itself.

<sup>38</sup> George V. Taylor, "Revolutionary and Nonrevolutionary Content in the *Cahiers* of 1789: An Interim Report," *French Historical Studies*, 7 (Fall 1972): 495; Hyslop, *French Nationalism in 1789*, 52–61.

<sup>39</sup> Taylor, "Noncapitalist Wealth and the Origins of the French Revolution," 492.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, *Voeu de plusieurs citoyens de trois ordres, et invitation à leur concitoyens d'y adhérer*, 7–8; *Pétition des curés* (n.p., n.d.); *Le Dernier mot du tiers-état à la noblesse de France* (n.p., n.d.). See also the statement of the clergy of Puy-en-Velay in Hyslop, *French Nationalism in 1789*, 84.

<sup>41</sup> All studies of the *cahiers* agree that equality of taxation was their primary concern. See Hyslop, *French Nationalism in 1789*, 84; Taylor, "Revolutionary and Nonrevolutionary Content in the *Cahiers* of 1789," 495; and Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 42. See Lesueur and Cauchie, *Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage de Blois*, 1: 48, 63, 74, 77.

<sup>42</sup> Taylor, "Revolutionary and Nonrevolutionary Content in the *Cahiers* of 1789," 494; or, for a contemporary example, see *Arrêté des trois ordres du pays de Vivarais . . .* (n.p., n.d.). Colin Lucas has also argued convincingly that there were few questions raised about nobility and privilege reflective of a "class consciousness" on the eve of the revolution. Lucas, "Nobles, Bourgeois and the Origins of the French Revolution," 118. Similarly, for the attitude of one future Third Estate deputy, see Louis Bergasse, *Un Défenseur des principes traditionnels sous la Révolution: Nicolas Bergasse* (Paris, 1910), 74–75.

the Clergy and the Nobility will not cease to be distinct and separate Orders. Honorific privileges, more worthy of them than pecuniary privileges, will forever class them in a rank properly superior to that of the Third Estate."<sup>43</sup> Much of the French populace still viewed the Estates-General as the vehicle for resolving the country's problems. The basis for their expectations was the precedent of Vizille and the subsequent assembly at Romans, in which delegates had maintained distinctions of order but voted by head.<sup>44</sup>

The heightened optimism for resolving the difficulties facing the nation through the Estates-General was by no means unrealistic, for it is clear that the clergy and particularly the nobility were prepared to renounce their fiscal privileges.<sup>45</sup> They were not, however, prepared to yield the privileged political position afforded them by the traditional structure of the Estates-General, a concession that most members of the Third Estate, as a practical matter, believed necessary to address the nation's problems successfully.<sup>46</sup> As the opening of the Estates-General approached, then, the attempt of the clergy and the nobility to cling to the now-discredited standard of privilege as an instrument of government caused the question of privilege to assume an even greater magnitude and importance.

THE IMPASSE THAT DEVELOPED IN THE OPENING DAYS OF THE ESTATES-GENERAL quickly denoted privilege, specifically, privilege as embodied in the procedures of 1614, to be the primary obstacle to the goal of national regeneration. Having agreed to yield pecuniary privileges, the nobility believed that nothing more should be asked of them and attempted to maintain deliberation by orders.<sup>47</sup> In contrast, the Third Estate believed that deliberation by orders would have the effect of giving the nobility a power of veto over the project of regenerating the

<sup>43</sup> AD, Côte d'Or C 2987<sup>6\*</sup>, *Requête au Roi, et délibération du Tiers Etat de la ville de Dijon, du 18 janvier 1789*. Even in the more polarized atmosphere of Brittany, similar sentiments prevailed. See AD, Ille-et-Vilaine C 3900, *Mémoire des avocats du Parlement de Bretagne*. For another example, see the discourse given by two barristers to a gathering of inhabitants in the town of Nuits late in 1788 in Egret, *La Pré-Révolution française*, 352.

<sup>44</sup> For an example of Vizille as the precedent that guided public opinion, see *Pétition des citoyens domiciliés à Paris, du 8 décembre 1788* (n.p., n.d.). On the proceedings at Vizille and the way in which privilege was an issue within the nation, see Jean Egret, *La Révolution des Notables: Mounier et les Monarchiens 1789* (Paris, 1950), 17–20. Similarly, for Romans, see *Lettre écrite au Roi par les trois Ordres de la Province de Dauphiné, sur les Etats-Généraux* (n.p., n.d.), 10, and Jean Egret, *Les Derniers Etats de Dauphiné: Romans (Septembre 1788–Janvier 1789)* (Paris, 1942), 32.

<sup>45</sup> Hyslop, in *French Nationalism in 1789*, 86, asserted that the renunciation of privileges or advocacy of equal liability to taxation was present in "the overwhelming majority" of *cahiers* of the clergy and nobles. See also *Procès-verbal des séances de la chambre de l'ordre de la noblesse aux Etats-Généraux, tenues à Versailles en mil sept cent quatre-vingt neuf* (Paris, 1792), 68; *Mémoire des Princes présenté au Roi*.

<sup>46</sup> For one example of the renunciation of fiscal privilege combined with insistence on vote by order, see *Protestation de la noblesse de Bourgogne, assemblée à Dijon* (n.p., n.d.). See also André Morellet, *Mémoires inédites de l'Abbé Morellet sur le dix-huitième siècle et sur la Révolution*, 2d edn., 2 vols. (Paris, 1822), 1: 345; Jacques Pierre Brissot de Warville, *Mémoires (1754–1793)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1911), 2: 192. Chaussinand-Nogaret, in his study, found 41 percent of the *cahiers* of the nobility favored voting by order, while only 8 percent favored voting by head. He emphasized the ambiguity in the remaining *cahiers*, but these unambiguous positions more closely reflect the terms of the debate. The vote by order was the strongest single stance among the nobility. Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, *La Noblesse au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 188–91.

<sup>47</sup> Jacques Antoine Creuzé-Latouche, *Journal des Etats-Généraux et du début de l'Assemblée nationale 18 mai–29 juillet 1789*, Jean Marchand, ed. (Paris, 1946), 12–14 (hereafter cited as Creuzé-Latouche, *Journal*); *Journal d'Adrien Duquesnoy*, Robert de Crevecoeur, ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1894), 1: 33–34 (hereafter cited as Duquesnoy, *Journal*).

nation. The Third Estate was willing to recognize the existence of orders as long as they were not the basis for voting, but the precipitate effort of the nobility to adopt the traditional procedures undermined whatever sense of common purpose may have existed and plunged the Estates-General into a deadlock.<sup>48</sup>

The standstill continued for several weeks, during which time the Third Estate increasingly wrapped itself in the mantle of “the nation,” much to the chagrin of the clergy and the nobility.<sup>49</sup> This language was not mere hyperbole or a tactical ploy; in internal deliberations, as the three orders met separately, the members of the Third Estate deliberately sought to transcend particularism and formulate a broader vision of the polity.<sup>50</sup>

As the impasse continued, members of the clergy mediated in an effort to end it. Deputies of the other two orders initially ignored invitations by the Third Estate to meet for a joint verification of credentials, but, on 13 June, after weeks of deadlock, a few priests crossed over to the chamber of the Third Estate and had their credentials verified. They did not, however, blend into the Third Estate; they maintained their separate identity as an order and were seated in a place designated for the clergy.<sup>51</sup> When the Third Estate assumed the title of National Assembly on 17 June, it said nothing about the merging of orders. Indeed, in the context in which it was stated, the reference to order or class clearly envisaged the distinction of orders.<sup>52</sup> Without question, the goal continued to be voting by head.

<sup>48</sup> See Abbé Jacques Jallet, *Journal inédit de Jallet* (Fontenay-le-Comte, 1871), 52–53. In what is an illustration of the lack of understanding among the different orders as the Estates-General opened, Jallet noted that, hoping to avoid antagonizing the Third Estate in early negotiations after the Estates-General opened, the clergy did not want to use the designation “order of the clergy” when it sent delegates to negotiate with the Third Estate. They decided instead to call themselves “members of the clergy,” but the deputation returned with the report that the Third Estate was satisfied with the response of “the members of the order of the clergy.” Keeping in mind the precedent of Vizille, it is clear that the Third Estate was willing to accept the existence of orders as long as they were not the basis of voting. Many deputies of the Third Estate were disappointed, however, at the failure of the clergy and the nobility to join in a spirit of common purpose; see, for example, Antoine François Delandine, *De quelques changemens politiques, opérés ou projetés en France, pendant les années 1789, 1790 et 1791; ou Discours sur divers points importants de la Constitution et de la nouvelle Législation du Royaume* (Paris, 1791), 9–14.

<sup>49</sup> *Procès-verbal des conférences sur la vérification des pouvoirs, tenues par mm. les commissaires du clergé, de la noblesse & des communes, tant en la salle du Comité des Etats-Généraux, qu'en présence de mm. les commissaires du roi, conformément au désir de Sa Majesté* (Paris, 1789), especially 100–04; Duquesnoy, *Journal*, 1: 20.

<sup>50</sup> *Récit des séances des députés des communes, depuis le 5 mai 1789, jusqu'au 12 juin suivant, époque à laquelle la rédaction des Procès-verbaux a commencé* (Paris, n.d.), 135, where, in establishing bureaux, the commons decided to avoid placing deputies from the same province in the same bureau.

<sup>51</sup> Creuzé-Latouche, *Journal*, 103; *Procès-verbal des séances des députés des communes, depuis le 12 juin jusqu'au 17 juin, jour de la constitution en Assemblée nationale* (Paris, 1789), 100–01; Jallet, *Journal inédit de Jallet*, 86–87. Indeed, Jallet's discourse upon entering the Third Estate's chamber left no doubt about the maintenance of orders, specifying their identity as “members of the order of the clergy from the province of Poitou” and stating that they were seeking to establish peace and harmony “between the orders.” See Urbain René Pilastre de la Brardière and J. B. Leclerc, eds., *Correspondance de MM. les députés des communes de la province d'Anjou avec leurs commettans relativement aux Etats-Généraux . . . en 1789*, 10 vols. (Angers, 1789–91), 1: 142–43.

<sup>52</sup> Distinction by orders could be maintained as long as the orders did not meet separately, as this critical passage from the procès-verbal shows: “Representation being one and indivisible, none of the deputies, in whatever Order or rank (*Classe*) he may be chosen, has the right to exercise his duties separately from the present Assembly”; *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée nationale*, no. 1 (17 June 1789): 4. The Abbé Morellet did not believe that the joint verification of powers presented any danger to the other two orders. Morellet, *Mémoires*, 1: 344–45. In addition, Dumont, *Souvenirs sur Mirabeau*, 70, and A. C. Thibaudeau, *Mémoires*, 1765–1792 (Paris, 1875), 74–75, indicate that Sieyès, who was opposed



By 19 June, many members of the clergy had crossed over to join the Third Estate, but, again, most of those who went over did so simply to break the impasse. For most, creating a national chamber was still an open question; they felt a loyalty both to their order and the church and were not seeking to merge their order with the Third Estate.<sup>53</sup> Even after they had their credentials verified in the Third Estate's chamber, they continued to sit as an order, with their dean seated to the right of the president of the Third Estate.<sup>54</sup>

The day after the royal session of 23 June, the clergy met separately as an order, after which a majority crossed over to the Third Estate, but those who crossed over continued to sit as an order and were still not seeking in any way to combine themselves with the Third.<sup>55</sup> When Jean Baptiste Dumouchel, the rector of the University of Paris and a deputy for the clergy, crossed over on 25 June, for example, he explicitly stated that he had come to join the majority of his order, whose interests, rights, and prerogatives, he said, he would never cease to uphold.<sup>56</sup> By this time, members of the nobility had also begun to yield and to join the Assembly, but their motives have not been well examined. Some were members of the National party, which had previously favored doubling the Third Estate and a common meeting of the orders. These members also favored the regular convocation of the Estates-General as an alternative to what they regarded as the sterility of court politics. The failure of the Estates-General would have eliminated this alternative.<sup>57</sup> As had been the case with the clergy, many may have gone over simply in an effort to break the impasse. Most leading members of the National party did not favor abolishing the distinction of orders. One member of the Third Estate noted the aversion that nobles, even the most liberal nobles, had for the term "citizen," which they refused to accept for themselves or to accord to members of the commons.<sup>58</sup> Like the clergy, the nobles who entered were seated together in a section designated for their order.<sup>59</sup>

On 27 June, Louis, without ever using the term National Assembly—indeed, the only reference in his letter was to the Estates-General—asked the recalcitrant members of the clergy and nobility to join "the other two orders." He did not

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to the maintenance of orders, knew that a title that explicitly outlawed orders would not be accepted, so he deliberately suggested a phrase that could accommodate the eventuality but did not make it explicit. Finally, Dumont, *Souvenirs sur Mirabeau*, 47, reinforces the notion that the Third Estate wanted a single assembly in which its preponderance of numbers could make itself felt in voting by head; they did not seek the destruction of the distinction of orders.

<sup>53</sup> See Claude Benjamin Vallet, *Récit des principaux faits qui se sont passés dans la Salle de l'Ordre du Clergé, depuis le commencement des Etats-Généraux, le 4 mai 1789, jusqu'à la réunion des trois ordres dans la Salle commune de l'Assemblée nationale* (Paris, 1790), 77–80; see also Maurice Hutt, "The Role of the Curés in the Estates-General of 1789," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 6 (1955): 205–14.

<sup>54</sup> Pilastre de la Brardière and Leclerc, *Correspondance*, 1: 205–06; Hutt, "The Role of the Curés," 213.

<sup>55</sup> Pilastre de la Brardière and Leclerc, *Correspondance*, 1: 235–36.

<sup>56</sup> Creuzé-Latouche, *Journal*, 103.

<sup>57</sup> Egret, *La Pré-Révolution française*, 336; Daniel L. Wick, "The Court Nobility and the French Revolution: The Example of the Society of Thirty," *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 13 (1980): 263–84.

<sup>58</sup> Creuzé-Latouche, *Journal*, 157.

<sup>59</sup> On their unwillingness to abolish the distinction of orders, see Egret, *La Pré-Révolution française*, 336; on their seating as an order in the chamber, see Pilastre de la Brardière and Leclerc, *Correspondance*, 1: 238.

request that they recognize vote by head and specifically mentioned that they could join the other two orders but not participate in deliberations until they had received new instructions from their constituents. In the period between 27 June and the session on 30 June (the first to include all members of all three orders), many clerical and noble deputies held separate meetings in an attempt to evade the common verification of credentials. This strategy was unsuccessful, but most of them entered the Assembly refusing to acknowledge in any way voting by head rather than by order.<sup>60</sup>

Although the union of the three orders was warmly hailed from outside the Assembly, it did little to expedite matters, for, as a totally artificial construct, the National Assembly had little sense of cohesion or purpose during its early existence.<sup>61</sup> The members of the Assembly began anew the task that had originally produced the impasse, the common verification of credentials. The Assembly's artificial origin and lack of identity quickly became apparent as scores of clerical and noble deputies attempted to maintain vote by order by claiming that they could not deliberate in common without receiving new powers from their constituents, a process that would have hindered the Assembly's deliberations indefinitely. The reading of these protests consumed most of the first day of the meeting, much to the chagrin of other members, and ended only when the deputy Rabaut de Saint-Etienne noted that members whose credentials were not verified did not have the right to protest to an Assembly to which they did not yet belong.<sup>62</sup>

Although the Assembly functioned relatively smoothly the next day, giving at least one deputy cause for hope, on 2 July, the lack of cohesion and unity of purpose worsened when the Cardinal de La Rochefoucault, speaking for a substantial minority of the clergy, explicitly attempted to reserve the right of the clergy to continue to meet and vote separately as an order, an action that produced a tumult in the Assembly.<sup>63</sup> Undaunted, a majority of the nobility assembled as an order the next evening and drafted a similar, more strident, declaration, which they sent directly to the king.<sup>64</sup> Many of the deputies in these groups boycotted the meetings of the bureaux of the Assembly in the evening in order to meet separately as an order, usually to support grievances against the Assembly. This action subsequently culminated in their withdrawal from the Assembly alto-

<sup>60</sup> Duquesnoy, *Journal*, 1: 137–38; Francisque Mège, *Gautier de Biauzat, député du tiers-état aux Etats-Généraux de 1789: Sa vie et sa correspondance*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1890), 1: 149.

<sup>61</sup> See, for example, AN, C 86, declaration from Bourges of 24 July 1789; AN, C 88, dossier 48, document 2, declaration from Marseille, 9 July 1789; AN, C 91, dossier 71, document 44, declaration from L'Orient, 9 August 1789.

<sup>62</sup> *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée nationale*, no. 10 (27 June 1789): 4–6. See also Nicolas Jean Hugou de Basseville, *Mémoires historiques, critiques et politiques de la Révolution de France, avec toutes les opérations de l'Assemblée nationale*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1790), 3: 87–89; Armand Louis de Gontaut Biron (Duc de Lauzan), *Lettres sur les Etats-Généraux de 1789 ou Détail des Séances de l'Assemblée de la Noblesse et des Trois Ordres du 4 mai au 15 novembre* (Paris, 1865), 11; Honoré Gabriel de Riqueti, Comte de Mirabeau, *Lettres à ses commettans* (Paris, 1791), 341–42. For a brief description of the nature of the various objections to meeting in common, see *Le Point du jour*, 1 July 1789.

<sup>63</sup> *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée nationale*, no. 12 (2 July 1789): 3–4; *Le Point du jour*, 3 July 1789. On the hopes of one deputy the previous day, see Mège, *Gautier de Biauzat*, 1: 153.

<sup>64</sup> *Supplément au procès-verbal de l'ordre de la noblesse aux Etats-Généraux* (Paris, 1792), 359–62. See also Jean Sylvain Bailly, *Mémoires d'un témoin de la Révolution*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1821–22), 1: 282–85; Charles Elie de Ferrières, *Mémoires du marquis de Ferrières*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1821), 1: 73.

gether.<sup>65</sup> On 4 July, in the first voice vote by head in the National Assembly, a substantial number of noble and clerical deputies refused to participate; most left the hall just before their names were called or, if present, sat in silence.<sup>66</sup>

After largely completing the verification of credentials and struggling to achieve a sense of purpose, the members of the Assembly decided on 6 July to devote themselves to the formulation of a constitution. To expedite the task, they established a committee of thirty members to study the preliminary questions involved. The Assembly elected the committee the next day, but, in the process, an incident occurred that betrayed the degree to which the Assembly still operated primarily in terms of estates and orders. After the balloting, some deputies noted that not a single cleric had been chosen, prompting an outcry from the commons to name six additional members, all from the clergy, to the thirty already selected. For their part, the clergy responded that they had participated in the selection process and were satisfied with the outcome. Nevertheless, the commons renewed its effort, and the nobles joined in, but the clergy continued to refuse the offer, to the acclaim of the Assembly.<sup>67</sup> Although perhaps relatively minor, the episode highlights the tentativeness and lack of cohesion of the National Assembly early in its existence.

Immediately afterward, the Assembly opened a debate on representation, the resolution of which proved critical in its evolution. In yet another effort to retard the work of the Assembly and to assert vote by order rather than by head, several noble and clerical deputies returned to the issue that had been troublesome to the Assembly when it began the joint verification of credentials: the issue of mandates. These deputies argued that they were merely *mandataires*, bound strictly by a mandate (*mandat impératif*) to reflect the wishes of their electors and the views expressed in their *cahiers*, which, in most cases, included vote by order.<sup>68</sup> After a lengthy and frequently erudite discussion that took up the rest of the meeting, the next day, 8 July, the Assembly rejected the doctrine of binding mandates.<sup>69</sup> Not only was this action crucial in endowing the National Assembly with an independence that could serve as the basis for a new sense of identity, but it also established the conditions that made possible the momentous night of 4 August.<sup>70</sup> Although the decision attracted little notice at the time and has been relatively neglected

<sup>65</sup> *Supplément au procès-verbal de l'ordre de la noblesse*, 365–76.

<sup>66</sup> Mège, *Gaultier de Biauzat*, 1: 160.

<sup>67</sup> *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée nationale*, no. 17 (7 July 1789): 7–8. See also Duquesnoy, *Journal*, 1: 167–68, 173; Bailly, *Mémoires d'un témoin de la Révolution*, 1: 290–91. At this time, in fact, the National Assembly, in terms of its seating, was still divided into orders. Pilastre de la Brardière and Leclerc, *Correspondance*, 2: 48–49.

<sup>68</sup> *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée nationale*, no. 17 (7 July 1789): 9. An account can be found in Duquesnoy, *Journal*, 1: 169–70, and Creuzé-Latouche, *Journal*, 195–201. On the competing theories of representation, see Eric Thomson, *Popular Sovereignty and the French Constituent Assembly 1789–1791* (Manchester, 1952), 48–49.

<sup>69</sup> *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée nationale*, no. 18 (8 July 1789): 2. Duquesnoy, *Journal*, 1: 173–74, indicates that there was confusion about what was being decided. The rejection of binding mandates meant that deputies were free to exercise their own judgment and to reach their own conclusions in the Assembly.

<sup>70</sup> A clerical deputy opposed to the Assembly's rejection of the *mandat impératif* believed that it was this rejection that truly marked the change from the Estates-General to the National Assembly. AN, AD<sup>xviii</sup> 135, *Première lettre de M. l'Abbé de Bonneval, député du clergé de Paris, à ses commettants*, 81–82.

since, one member of the Assembly subsequently judged it to be one of the most significant acts in the initial stages of the revolution.<sup>71</sup>

On 14 July, the Assembly elected a Committee of the Constitution. In keeping with the primacy accorded to achieving vote by head rather than abolishing distinction of orders, the committee members were not chosen at large on this occasion but in strict accordance with orders—two from the clergy, two from the nobility, and four from the commons. The selection of the committee was all but overshadowed, of course, by the popular rising in Paris, but even the Assembly's deliverance from threatened dissolution did little to instill in it any sense of cohesion or identity. The insurrection led the deputies who had withdrawn from the Assembly to return to it and indicate that they would deliberate by head, but they were not warmly received. In addition, the responses of the Assembly to homages paid to it, many of which, significantly, came only after 14 July, have a stilted quality that betrays the absence of any strong sense of unity.<sup>72</sup>

The Committee of the Constitution, at the time of its formation, had been given a mandate to draft a plan for the new constitution and to present it to the Assembly. It is indicative of how minor this task was evidently perceived to be that, on 24 July, only ten days after the formation of the committee, a member of the Assembly proposed that the committee be required to present a report on its work immediately. Other members supported the suggestion, and the Assembly decided that the committee would have to present an account of its deliberations on 27 July. It also specified that the committee should condense its proposals into a form that would allow discussion of them.

The initial limited objectives of the National Assembly are particularly apparent in the presentation of 27 July. Champion de Cicé, the archbishop of Bordeaux, began by reading a report summarizing the committee's deliberations; he indicated that the committee had felt obligated to take account of the views of their constituents as expressed in the *cahiers*, on which the Comte de Clermont-Tonnerre would report immediately afterward. Champion de Cicé presented the first chapter of the constitution, concerned with the principles of French government, and invited members to submit their ideas on such issues as administrative organization, judicial power, public education, the military, and especially the legislature. Clermont-Tonnerre followed with his report summarizing the *cahiers* on the question of a constitution. He noted that, although the *cahiers* were unanimous in their desire to see a regeneration of the realm, they were divided on the extent of this regeneration. Some asked for a reform of abuses and repair of the "existing constitution," while others desired a new constitution.

<sup>71</sup> Pierre Victor Malouet, *Mémoires de Malouet, publiée par son petit-fils le Baron Malouet*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1868), 1: 299–301.

<sup>72</sup> On the return of the deputies to the Assembly, see *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée nationale*, no. 25 (16 July 1789): 4–6; Bailly, *Mémoires d'un témoin de la Révolution*, 2: 38–39; de Ferrières, *Mémoires*, 1: 150–51. See also Bibliothèque Municipale Dijon, MS. 2074, fol. 429 (hereafter, BM Dijon). For one indication of the attitude encountered by the deputies who returned, see Creuzé-Latouche, *Journal*, 238–39. For an example of the stilted quality of responses to homages, see the reply to the homage offered by the Parlement of Paris, *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée nationale*, no. 30 (23 July 1789): 7–8. This pervasive unease was noted by Dumont, *Souvenirs sur Mirabeau et sur les deux premières assemblées législatives*, 94.

Clermont-Tonnerre put forward two sets of propositions, one of accepted principles and the other of questions arising from the lack of uniformity among the *cahiers*. Among the latter issues, which the Assembly would have to decide, were whether or not laws would be submitted to sovereign courts for registration and whether *lettres de cachet* would be abolished or merely modified.<sup>73</sup>

Although the committee recognized the latitude for change that had been provided by the decision on 8 July, it adhered as closely as possible to the *cahiers*. The committee was so restrained, in fact, that it did not preclude the possibility of seating by various forms of orders in future legislatures. The readiness of the Assembly to maintain the traditional—and, in the *lettres de cachet*, some of the worst—features of the kingdom is apparent. Under this standard of prescriptive tradition, alterations in the essential configuration of the state clearly would have been of a minimal character. Since the *cahiers* had been especially concerned with equality of taxation, and since the clergy and nobility had already conceded this, the fiscal system certainly would have been amended. Beyond that, the fundamental, privileged corporate structure of the polity would have remained largely undisturbed.<sup>74</sup>

Shortly afterward, the Assembly abandoned the restraint evident in the report of 27 July. In the aftermath of the night of 4 August, the National Assembly undertook to remake the French nation virtually in its entirety. Rural unrest, which had been exacerbated by the stalemate at the Estates-General, had reached critical dimensions by late July and early August and distracted the Assembly from its essential task of drafting a constitution. A group of deputies who hoped to avoid the use of force in dealing with the violence and disorder in the countryside met at the Breton Club and devised a strategy designed to pacify the peasantry.<sup>75</sup> The Duc d'Aiguillon, one of the greatest landowners in France, would propose the voluntary renunciation of some seigneurial rights and the redemption of others through a substantial indemnity. During the evening session of 4 August, however, d'Aiguillon was unexpectedly preempted by the Vicomte de Noailles, who proposed abolishing all privilege in matters of taxation, suppressing personal service, and redeeming dues related to land ownership in money. Undeterred, d'Aiguillon quickly followed de Noailles' initiative by offering some additional proposals of his own.

However contrived or premeditated the inaugural renunciations that evening may have been, they electrified the Assembly, which, for the most part, had moved tentatively since its original convocation as the Estates-General three

<sup>73</sup> *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée nationale*, no. 33 (27 July 1789): 8. The *procès-verbal* mentions that the Assembly ordered the printing of the reports, so I have used the texts found in *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860*, J. Mavidal and E. Laurent, eds., 1st series, 82 vols. (Paris, 1862–1913), 8: 280–85 (hereafter, AP).

<sup>74</sup> On the recognition of the broader latitude available and the possibility of meeting by some system of orders, see AP, 8: 283–85. One contemporary noted that the report was scarcely innovative in its approach or proposals and would, in fact, leave the monarch in an extremely favorable position. BM Dijon, MS. 2522, 3, letter of 31 July 1789.

<sup>75</sup> For deputies on the violence, see Charles Elie de Ferrières, *Correspondance inédite 1789, 1790, 1791*, Henri Carré, ed. (Paris, 1932), 99, 103–07; *La Première année de la Révolution vue par un témoin (1789–1790): Les "Bulletins" de Poncet-Delpech*, Daniel Ligou, ed. (Paris, 1961), 43–44.



months earlier. The deputies heartily applauded the resolutions offered by de Noailles and d'Aiguillon, and the emotional rapture of the moment served to launch the Assembly into an unrelenting condemnation of privilege, which in turn brought forward a spirit of what I have called "the sublimity of the nation"—a belief that the nation should henceforth be a source of equity and the focus for the highest ideals and conduct of its members.<sup>76</sup> The nation emerged as a unifying ideal transcending the corporate paradigm that had hitherto prevailed. The inequity of privilege was discarded for the equity of laws common to all, which would form the basis for a community of citizens. Doubtlessly, calculation and jealousy underlay some actions that evening, but the sense of renewal and altruism was far stronger.<sup>77</sup> The Assembly sought to regenerate the state and to blend all individuals into it equally by expunging privilege, which had heretofore fragmented the polity. For several hours, delegates from all estates and almost every province spontaneously relinquished a wide variety of rights and privileges;

<sup>76</sup> For a description of the scene in the Assembly, see Bibliothèque Nationale (hereafter, BN), MSS. Fonds Français 13713, fol. 114. For the term "sublimity of the nation," see Michael P. Fitzsimmons, *The Parisian Order of Barristers and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 41. I have elected not to use the term "civic humanism" put forward by J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1975). Although there are obvious parallels, particularly the emphasis on the primacy of citizenship and on working for the common good, in the final analysis, "civic humanism" does not correctly capture the ideal that gripped the National Assembly on the evening of 4 August and would thereafter guide it. Civic humanism derived from a Renaissance context that was republican, urban—even corporatist—in character, and certainly not democratic in impulse. The spirit of "the sublimity of the nation," on the other hand, was, above all, national in scope, anti-corporatist in nature, and fundamentally democratic in outlook, however imperfectly this last ideal may have been implemented. Finally, in naming Louis XVI "the restorer of French liberties" at the conclusion of the session, the National Assembly clearly sought to associate the Crown with the new ideal of "the sublimity of the nation," rather than posing it as an alternative program. In short, what emerged on the night of 4 August was specific and unique to the National Assembly, and, however attractive civic humanism may be as a current and recognizable term, it is also somewhat anachronistic and inexact in this instance. Patrice Higonnet, however, has successfully appropriated the concept of civic humanism for eighteenth-century France, although I disagree with his emphasis on it as a concept before the revolution; I would see it to a greater extent as a product of 4 August. Also, it is apparent that I would ascribe greater importance to civic humanism than does Higonnet, who sees it primarily as part of a synthesis he calls "bourgeois universalism," whereas I would give it more weight in its own right. Most important, however, we certainly agree that the revolution in 1789 in no way sought to exclude nobles and that it aspired to encompass all elements within the state. In general, then, I believe the differences between us are more differences of emphasis than of interpretation. See Higonnet, *Class, Ideology and the Rights of Nobles*. For a consideration of the regeneration of France and the ideal of "the sublimity of the nation" (although she does not use the term) in a somewhat different context, see Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*, especially 12, 27, 123–24, 179.

<sup>77</sup> The Duc de Lauzan referred to it as "the most noteworthy evening of the French empire," while the deputy Duquesnoy, who was frequently scathing in his judgments, was rapturous. Armand Louis de Gontaut Biron (Duc de Lauzan), *Lettres sur les Etats-Généraux de 1789*, 23; Duquesnoy, *Journal*, 1: 267. See also Thibaudeau, *Mémoires, 1765–1792*, 93–95; and Bailly, *Mémoires d'un témoin de la Révolution*, 3: 22–23. Apparently in its immediate aftermath, the deputy Gaultier de Biauzat wrote, "We return from the most pleasing and interesting session that we have yet had. Full of my theme, but embarrassed by the difficulty of conveying to you its grandeur and beauty, I am tempted to take after the poet." Similarly, Rabaut de Saint-Etienne complained that only those who were present could understand it. Mège, *Gaultier de Biauzat*, 1: 224; Jean Paul Rabaut de Saint-Etienne, *Précis de l'histoire de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1827), 201. The unfavorable, even cynical, interpretation of the night of 4 August, including the notion that the Bishop of Chartres retaliated for the abolition of tithes by renouncing hunting rights, seems to stem chiefly from de Ferrières, *Mémoires*, 1: 187–90. These memoirs were composed many years later and were refracted through the bitterness of the Terror and, given his contemporary sentiments, to be quoted below, should be treated with caution and accorded somewhat less importance.



Medal commemorating Louis XVI as the “restorer of French liberty and the true friend of his people,” issued in 1790. The obverse reads “Salvation and regeneration of France by the National Assembly in 1789 and 1790.” Note the Medusa head on Louis’s shield, perhaps symbolizing privilege. My thanks to Alan M. Stahl at the American Numismatic Society for the photograph of this medal.

following this, the Assembly concluded the emotional session by proclaiming Louis “the restorer of French liberties.”<sup>78</sup>

The unifying effect that the night of 4 August had on the Assembly was extraordinary, for the consensus that formed that evening enormously expanded the Assembly’s task and had an incalculable impact on the nature of the state and on the subsequent course of the revolution. The National Assembly, a recognized representative body, had freely renounced the privileges dividing the polity and had rejected privilege as a superintending principle of society. In proclaiming Louis “the restorer of French liberties,” it had associated the Crown with its action, an action that the Crown could never have accomplished without opening itself to charges of despotism. The intense emotion and general exaltation present at the conclusion of the meeting is not difficult to understand. In discarding privilege and supplanting it with the unifying ideal of the nation, and, in associating the Crown with that endeavor, the Assembly had, in its view, fused the state and society. Henceforth, the state and society would be one in the nation; the individual’s relationship with the state would no longer be mediated by privilege and corporate bodies. The Assembly proceeded to reorganize the realm in accordance with this vision. No longer confining itself to the standard of prescriptive tradition, as it had on 27 July, the National Assembly sought to remake France in a more equitable manner.

Not only did the night of 4 August expand appreciably the magnitude of the Assembly’s task but it also infused that body with a powerful sense of identity, vision, and purpose. Until this time, the Assembly had attempted to strike a delicate balance between tradition and reform in its proceedings. Although the Assembly was a functioning institution, its uncertain origins gave its deliberations a timidity and tenuousness that did little to satisfy hopes for the regeneration of France. In the rarefied atmosphere at the conclusion of that meeting, however, the renunciations of privilege seemed to represent the fulfillment of the desired regeneration that had proven elusive. Its fulfillment gave the National Assembly a sense of cohesion and confidence that enabled it to assume an identity of its own. Its galvanizing effect is perhaps best exemplified by the remarks of the Marquis de Ferrières, a conservative noble deputy representing Saumur and one of those whom Louis had had to order to join the National Assembly on 27 June. On 7 August, as the Assembly sought to transform its pledges into a formal decree, de Ferrières wrote to a constituent about the significance of the meeting of 4 August. It had produced, he stated, something that twelve centuries of the same religion, the same language, and the habits of common manners had not been able to achieve—the reconciliation of separate interests toward a single objective, the common good of all. Without mentioning the National Assembly specifically but unmistakably referring to it, he told his correspondent of the session “fashioning, so to speak, a solemn new covenant, and, from this very moment, acquiring an

<sup>78</sup> *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée nationale*, no. 40 bis (4 August 1789): 14–42.

irresistible strength, and a might that will necessarily prevail over other forces.”<sup>79</sup> His comments are remarkable both as an explicit articulation of the distinct dynamic of “the sublimity of the nation” under which the National Assembly would subsequently operate and as an indication of the resolve with which it would assert its new vision of France.<sup>80</sup> Indeed, in the aftermath of 4 August, a body of men that had been able to agree on little for the previous three months proceeded in the following twenty-four to reorganize the French nation in its entirety. To contemporaries inside and outside the Assembly, the night of August 4th cut the Gordian knot blocking reform and regeneration and allowed the National Assembly to undertake the task for which, as the Estates-General, it had originally been convened.<sup>81</sup>

The events of 4 August considerably enhanced the importance of the constitution, which represented the logical medium for expressing the new idea of the polity envisioned by the National Assembly.<sup>82</sup> The first report of the Committee of the Constitution after 4 August manifested the audacious new spirit of the Assembly. The deputy Bergasse, who presented the committee’s project for the judiciary on 17 August, prefaced his presentation by noting that, since judicial power had the most influence on the happiness or unhappiness of citizens, justice must belong to the nation. Whereas, on 27 July, the committee had left open the possibility of submitting laws to the sovereign courts for registration, its report of 17 August implied the abolition of the courts. In addition, in accordance with renunciations made on 4 August, the committee called for the end of venality and proprietary rights in the judicial system. It went on to endorse, among other measures, the election of judges and the implementation of jury trials in criminal cases. The report clearly reflected the boldness with which the deputies would

<sup>79</sup> On de Ferrières’ original recalcitrance, see AN, AD<sup>XVIII</sup>c 135, *Compte rendu par M. le marquis de Ferrières à Messieurs les gentilhommes de la sénéchaussée de Saumur*, 72; on the letter of 7 August, see de Ferrières, *Correspondance inédite*, 115.

<sup>80</sup> He went on to warn his correspondent that it would be useless and dangerous to oppose the will of the nation, and he asked the nobility not to censure publicly the Assembly’s decree. See de Ferrières, *Correspondance inédite*, 116–17. His entire letter is indispensable for a full understanding of the impact of 4 August. The same spirit of “the sublimity of the nation” and sense of mission can also be seen in the letters of the deputy Gaultier de Biauzat. In a letter to his constituents on 8 August, he wrote that the Assembly had on 4 August “roughed out . . . the foundations for the public good.” Later, in warning against impatience, Gaultier de Biauzat told them to “keep in mind that we are performing a task made difficult by more than eight hundred years of injustice or folly.” Mège, *Gaultier de Biauzat*, 2: 233, 235. I disagree here with the comment of Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 94–95, that the night of 4 August was not “a battle-front rallying all classes of society to the common interest, but the means to gloss over a disagreement or at least a radical misunderstanding.” If that was the case, it is difficult to see how the National Assembly could have continued to reshape the polity to the extent that it did.

<sup>81</sup> Rabaut de Saint-Etienne, *Précis de l’histoire de la Révolution française*, 202; Dumont, *Souvenirs sur Mirabeau*, 100; Bailly, *Mémoires d’un témoin de la Révolution*, 2: 215–18; Pilastre de la Brardière and Leclerc, *Correspondance*, 2: 85–88; and Pierre L. Roederer, *L’Esprit de la Révolution de 1789* (Paris, 1831), 80–81.

<sup>82</sup> See AN, AD<sup>XVIII</sup>c 9, *Lettre de M. Dubois de Crancé, député du Département des Ardennes à ses commettans; ou Compte rendu des travaux, des dangers et des obstacles de l’Assemblée nationale, depuis l’ouverture des Etats-Généraux, au 27 avril 1789, jusqu’au premier août 1790*, p. 9, which traces all of the subsequent actions of the Assembly to the night of 4 August. Similarly, Choiseul d’Aillecourt, who heartily disapproved of the events of 4 August, began his discussion of the constitution with it. AN, AD<sup>XVIII</sup>c 136, *Compte rendu par M. Choiseul d’Aillecourt, député de la noblesse du bailliage de Clermont-en-Bassigny, à ses commettans*, 237–40. See also Thibaudeau, *Mémoires 1765–1792*, 96–97.



interpret the Assembly's new vision. As envisaged by the committee, justice would no longer be dispensed by privileged, venal officeholders who collected fees from litigants but would instead be administered freely by the nation through elected judicial officers. Indeed, Bergasse admitted that the committee had proposed "an order of things absolutely different from that which has been established for so long among us," and the scale of its departure from precedent undoubtedly surprised several deputies.<sup>83</sup> The report was a prototype, reflecting the new course to be charted for the realm. The Assembly's direction was clear—the replacement of privileged corporatism as a superintending principle of society with the ethos of "the sublimity of the nation" as an organizing principle of society.<sup>84</sup>

THE DESIRE TO BLEND DIVERSE ELEMENTS WITHIN FRANCE into the nation took the National Assembly into virtually every aspect of French life—politics, religion, administration, and justice—and it is precisely the determination of the Assembly to instill the ethos of "the sublimity of the nation" that provides an internal logic to its wide-ranging actions and gives them unity and consistency. Many of its measures, in fact, can be properly understood only against the backdrop of this inspiration.<sup>85</sup> By the end of its existence, the National Assembly sought to assert its vision so totally that it even reached into art and theater.<sup>86</sup> The effort culminated in 1791 with the promulgation of the Constitution, the preamble of which proudly proclaimed the National Assembly's achievement, the elimination of privilege and corporatism.<sup>87</sup>

As the National Assembly set out to remake the French nation, the delegates realized that they would not be able to communicate the moral imperative that had emerged on the night of 4 August and dictated their actions thereafter. The

<sup>83</sup> Nicolas Bergasse, *Rapport du comité de constitution sur l'organisation du pouvoir judiciaire, présenté à l'Assemblée nationale par M. Bergasse* (Paris, 1789). See also AP, 8: 449. The report did not surprise Duquesnoy, however, who favored it. Duquesnoy, *Journal*, 1: 291–92. Another contemporary observer, not a deputy, noted with some wonderment the changes proposed but correctly apprehended the new spirit that infused the report. BM Dijon, MS. 2522, 10, letter of 21 August 1789.

<sup>84</sup> The use of the word "organizing" in place of "superintending" is deliberate, for the fusion of state and society redefined the relationship between them. The new emerging idea of the nation was best encapsulated by the deputy Gaultier de Biauzat, describing the basis of the constitution to his constituents: "All the French are joining together to form a single national body, a single sovereign authority, of which our king believes himself the leader, whereas his predecessors believed themselves the masters." Mège, *Gaultier de Biauzat*, 2: 241.

<sup>85</sup> Article 25 of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, for example, which allowed Protestants, Jews, and nonbelievers to vote for parish priests, should be seen not as an attack on the church but as a manifestation of the belief that individuals could subordinate their particular beliefs to the common good of the nation. The extent to which the deputies envisioned the church as an integral component of the regenerated state can be seen in the Assembly's decision of 23 February 1790 to make the clergy the chosen agents of the nation in the publication of new laws and decrees, read by them from the pulpit. Timothy Tackett, *Priest and Parish in Eighteenth-Century France: A Social and Political Study of the Curés in a Diocese of Dauphiné 1750–1791* (Princeton, N.J., 1977), 277.

<sup>86</sup> See AN, D<sup>IV</sup> 49, dossier 1398, as well as the decree of 21 August 1791 concerning the exposition of 1791 at the Louvre, in *Collection générale des décrets rendus par l'Assemblée nationale*, 22 vols. (Paris, 1789–91), 17: 322–23; and Marvin Carlson, *The Theatre of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966), 74–76.

<sup>87</sup> Jacques Godechot, *Les Constitutions de la France depuis 1789* (Paris, 1970), 35. The process of reformulating the polity had continued in earnest until June, 1791, when Louis's flight clearly revealed him to be an unwilling partner in the transformation.



experience had been immediate and subjective, and, although it provided the sentiment that guided the Assembly as it reformulated the polity, the delegates knew that they would have to adduce a more recognizable and acceptable ascription for the enterprise they planned to undertake.<sup>88</sup> As a result, the National Assembly appropriated Enlightenment vocabulary to legitimate its vision, selecting the words or phrases that best suited the purpose of remaking the French nation.<sup>89</sup> A phrase such as “the general will” would understandably be attractive to men who believed that they had fused the state and society into a single entity. Although Enlightenment terms had been used in the pre-revolutionary period, they had been melded with traditional terms and concepts to such an extent that their meanings were frequently ambiguous.<sup>90</sup> Only with use by the National Assembly did these words acquire the innovative, even subversive, connotation that would inextricably associate them with the revolution.

The use of Enlightenment vocabulary nevertheless failed to close the fissure that the Assembly opened between itself and much of the rest of France.<sup>91</sup> Many outside the Assembly, not sharing its vision and still imbued with a traditional, countervailing mentality of *état*, *corps*, and *ordre*, found the motivation and many of the actions of the National Assembly incomprehensible. Artisans were stunned by the abolition of guilds, barristers were dismayed by the suppression of their order, residents of towns could not understand the closing of neighborhood parishes, inhabitants of provinces had difficulty accepting the loss of identity entailed in the destruction of their province, and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy presented nearly all French citizens, lay and clerical alike, with stark and often difficult choices. Before the revolution, the Crown had been for most a distant and abstract institution, but the nation—in the form of the institutions established between 1789 and 1791 after the fusion of state and society—became an intrusive reality suddenly imposing itself on what had been largely self-governing communities.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>88</sup> See the letter of the deputy Gaultier de Biauzat in Mège, *Gaultier de Biauzat*, 2: 268.

<sup>89</sup> Taylor, “Revolutionary and Nonrevolutionary Content in the *Cahiers* of 1789,” 500–01. Similarly, Joan McDonald, *Rousseau and the French Revolution, 1762–1791* (London, 1965), especially 156–73, argued that, since Rousseau was closely associated with the idea of regeneration, the revolutionaries (erroneously, in her view) appropriated his legacy to justify their changes when they applied regeneration to the state. In the same vein, the *Confédération des Amis de la Vérité* is an example of the effort outside the Assembly to appropriate Rousseau in the service of the revolution. See Gary Kates, *The Cercle Social, the Girondins, and the French Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 84.

<sup>90</sup> For examples of the juxtaposition of Enlightenment terms with traditional concepts and the ambiguous mandate for reform this would leave, see *Voeu de plusieurs citoyens des trois ordres, et invitations à leurs concitoyens d’y adhérer*, or the citing of both natural and divine law to make a point, in the *cahier* of the village of Fossé, near Blois, in Lesueur and Cauchie, *Cahiers de doléances du bailliage de Blois*, 1: 50, which suggests that there was no perceived contradiction between the two intellectual traditions. Rather, the inhabitants sought to muster as much justification for their position as they could. I would argue that the National Assembly did the same, and that Enlightenment terms were best suited for this purpose.

<sup>91</sup> To avert such a divergence, several delegates wrote letters to their constituents to apprise them of events in the Assembly. Nevertheless, some deputies seem to have been aware of the distance between themselves and the rest of the nation. See, for example, Duquesnoy, *Journal*, 1: 333.

<sup>92</sup> On artisans, see Sewell, *Work and Revolution in France*, and Grace Jaffé, *Le Mouvement ouvrier à Paris pendant la Révolution française* (Paris, 1924); on the abolition of orders of barristers, see Lenard Berlanstein, *The Barristers of Toulouse in the Eighteenth Century (1740–1793)* (Baltimore, Md., 1975),

Because of the almost unassailable stature of the National Assembly, most groups submitted to its will, but the process created disaffection that laid the foundation for later conflict. The exigencies of war forced the revolutionary government to mobilize the nation's resources to an unprecedented degree. With the National Assembly's abolition of corporate bodies, citizens of the nation were directly confronted with its coercive power. Called on to defend or to make sacrifices for a system that they often could not understand, several constituencies within the country refused, and a prolonged civil war resulted. It is not the least irony of the revolution that measures impelled by the ethos of "the nation" instead laid the foundation for divisions that have never truly healed.

THE MAGNITUDE OF THE FINANCIAL CRISIS, as well as the inability of the Assembly of Notables to resolve it, clearly revealed the systemic failure of the Old Regime. This failure in turn precipitated a fundamental reexamination of the state that sought to address its deficiencies or—to use the term that was most prevalent in contemporary parlance—to regenerate it. The reappraisal of the state proceeded through distinct stages, but the problem of privilege was a leitmotiv throughout.

The first stage, lasting from 1787 to 1788 and set against the backdrop of the financial crisis, revolved around the fiscal privileges of the clergy and the nobility. Continued resistance to a more equitable distribution of the tax burden, despite the Crown's dire financial needs, highlighted the issue of privilege and the pernicious effects that it had on the state. The suspension of payment on the debt, however, ended doubts about the financial crisis and led most members of the clergy and the nobility to accept the necessity of taxation—a willingness subsequently evinced in many of their *cahiers*.

Just when the problem of privilege seemed to be resolved by the assent to taxation, it appeared in another fashion as a result of the convening of the Estates-General, inaugurating the second stage, from September, 1788 to July, 1789. With the declaration of the Parlement of Paris that the Estates-General should adhere to the structure and forms of 1614, the issue of privilege reemerged, albeit in a new form. In seeking to retain their traditional advantage in the Estates-General, the clergy and the nobility, it appeared, were intent on checking the task of national regeneration. Having implicitly acknowledged the detrimental effect of privilege by yielding on the issue of taxation, these two estates nonetheless sought to maintain privilege by invoking the procedures of 1614. To those interested in public affairs, however, the task of rehabilitating the nation was too fundamental and comprehensive to be left chiefly to the clergy and the nobility—

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168–70; and Fitzsimmons, *The Parisian Order of Barristers and the French Revolution*. On the church, see John McManners, *The French Revolution and the Church* (New York, 1969). On the intrusion of the nation, see T. J. A. Le Goff and D. M. G. Sutherland, "The Revolution and the Rural Community in Eighteenth Century Brittany," *Past and Present*, 62 (1974): 96–119; and Donald Sutherland, *The Chouans: The Social Origins of Popular Counter-Revolution in Upper Brittany, 1770–1796* (Oxford, 1981).

arguably, the estates most responsible for the problems that were confronting French society.

The issues in the debate on privilege during the second stage were the doubling of the Third Estate and voting by head. The Third Estate wanted to be accorded a genuine and significant role in regenerating the realm; most proponents of doubling the Third and voting by head were not seeking to supersede the clergy and the nobility. It is symptomatic of the intellectual poverty of the political leaders of the clergy and the nobility, however, that they were unable to dissociate these issues from distinction of orders, ultimately leading them to lose in 1789 not only the vote by order but even the distinction of orders—a goal not originally sought by most members of the Third Estate.<sup>93</sup> The second stage, then, was decided when Louis ordered the recalcitrant members of the clergy and the nobility to join the National Assembly, a resolution protected and confirmed by the popular rising in Paris in July.

Rather than providing the momentum and direction to events, as in the first two stages, the issue of privilege was thrust in from the outside in the third and final stage, when serious and widespread unrest in the countryside forced the National Assembly to confront the question of seigneurial rights. Its resolution occurred on the night of 4 August, when the renunciation of privilege revealed striking new possibilities and infused the Assembly with a vision and a sense of purpose. The National Assembly imposed its vision—the extirpation of corporate privilege and the implementation of the ethos of “the sublimity of the nation”—on the rest of France. The promulgation of the Constitution of 1791, which made this purge of privilege systemic, concluded the third stage of the crisis.<sup>94</sup>

Thus, the central tenet of the National Assembly—the ideal implemented in the formative stages of the revolution—arose and was elaborated only in the course of events; it was a consequence of the revolution rather than an antecedent. In the final analysis, the revolution, at least in its crucial, formative stage, may be more fruitfully understood not so much as the product of pre-revolutionary social tensions but as an interchange between the National Assembly and the rest of France. Tensions existed, of course, but they were not of sufficient magnitude to account for the changes that occurred. Rather, these changes were closely tied to events in the Assembly itself. The National Assembly reorganized France in accordance with the new vision of the polity that it formulated on the night of 4 August. Historians have generally denigrated the boldness of the Assembly’s act—to break altogether from the weight of the past by substituting for privilege and

<sup>93</sup> Orders were not abolished until October and November, 1789, after the spirit of the sublimity of the nation infused the Assembly. See Pilastre de la Brardière and Leclerc, *Correspondance*, 2: 585–86. See AN, AD<sup>1</sup> 34, dossier A, document 35, for the proclamation of 27 October 1789, and AN, AD<sup>1</sup> 34, dossier A, document 38, for the proclamation of 7 November 1789, which terminated orders in France.

<sup>94</sup> Doyle, *Origins of the French Revolution*, 209, asserted that privilege did not disappear but persisted under the heading of social distinction, which was tied to ability and property. I disagree with this characterization, for, as understood in its Old Regime context of rights enjoyed by some but not by others, privilege did indeed disappear in the face of laws common to all French citizens. At the same time, however, the fact that this purely legal concept of equality was unsatisfactory to several elements in France might be said to be what the next stage of the revolution was about.

tradition laws common to all—and the loftiness of its ideal—that privilege and corporatism were divisive, and that there were deeper, more enduring bonds among French citizens which the government and institutions of the nation should reflect.<sup>95</sup> Yet, however immediate or fleeting it appears, the night of 4 August had a lasting effect on many deputies, serving as a beacon to guide them as they shaped the nation during this period of the revolution.<sup>96</sup> Their efforts were frustrated not by a putative change of heart during the debates in the week after the night of 4 August, or by a narrowness of purpose, but ultimately by an intractable monarch who refused to associate himself with their endeavors. The failure, however, should not obscure the magnanimity of the undertaking.

<sup>95</sup> Cobban, for example, ascribed idealism to the National Assembly in the field of foreign policy but implicitly refused to concede that it could have played a role in domestic policy. For foreign policy, see Alfred Cobban, *A History of Modern France*, 3 vols. in 1 (New York, 1965), 1: 186; for his dismissal of it, see Cobban, "The Myth of the French Revolution," reprinted in *Aspects of the French Revolution* (New York, 1968), 102. A notable exception to this general refusal to recognize the idealism of the National Assembly is William Doyle, "The Price of Offices in Pre-revolutionary France," *Historical Journal*, 27 (1984), 859–60.

<sup>96</sup> When yielding up his post as president of the Assembly on 17 August, the deputy Le Chapelier, who had presided over the session on 4 August, spoke of that meeting as a "family compact." *Le Point du jour*, 18 August 1789. For more on the centrality of the night of 4 August to the work of the National Assembly, see Roederer, *L'Esprit de la Révolution de 1789*, 80–81, and Alexandre Lameth, *Histoire de l'Assemblée constituante*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1828–29), 1: 202, and following.

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## The Limits of Formal Protest: Worker Activism and Social Polarization in Petrograd and Moscow, March to October, 1917

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WILLIAM G. ROSENBERG and DIANE P. KOENKER

FEW PROCESSES ARE MORE CENTRAL TO THE EVOLUTION OF REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS in Russia during 1917 than those encompassed by historians in the concept "social polarization." This complex notion attempts to explain the social basis for the collapse of the Provisional Government and the successful acquisition of power by the Bolshevik party. As it applies to urban Russia, social polarization involves the multiple relationships between workers' activism in all of its forms and the equally complex (and complementary) activism of industrialists and other members of the business community. In the countryside, social polarization involves the emergence of irreconcilable conflict between the interests of the peasants and the gentry and rejection by the peasants of state-supported systems of land use, taxation, and agricultural development. Social polarization is not unique to Russia. Lawrence Stone has suggested that the coalescence "into two coherent groups or alliances of what are naturally and normally a series of fractional and shifting tensions within society" can be found in many revolutionary contexts.<sup>1</sup> The notion underlies Crane Brinton's theorized clash between French moderates and extremists in 1789, and it can be found as well in the French and German revolutions of 1848.<sup>2</sup> In the Russian case, the issue that has motivated much recent study is not whether social polarization characterized the revolutionary process in 1917 but, rather, the nature of this polarization and the extent to which it reflected long-term divisions

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<sup>1</sup> Lawrence Stone, "Theories of Revolution," *World Politics*, 18 (1966): 165.

<sup>2</sup> Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution* (New York, 1938); Peter Amman, "Revolution: A Redefinition," *Political Science Quarterly*, 77 (1962): 36–53.



in Russian society as opposed to short-term, conjunctural, or even accidental factors.<sup>3</sup>

Leopold Haimson has demonstrated that Russian urban society on the eve of the war was already polarized into “privileged” and “unprivileged” strata, as perceived from both sides of the social gulf. In the capital, St. Petersburg, in particular, but elsewhere in the empire, too, workers had developed a sense of their separateness from privileged society, a sense increasingly expressed in radical socialist ideological terms that rejected coexistence with the bourgeoisie, which they equated with all of privileged Russia. Such perspectives developed outside the cities as well. Landowners saw their interests increasingly challenged by peasants and peasant-oriented political movements, especially between 1905 and 1912, and mobilized their own political resources.<sup>4</sup>

Yet the polarized constellation of forces apparent in Russia before the war was not necessarily stable. Each “pole” was composed of elements whose interests could and did clash: landowners who did not share the same interests as industrialists; Moscow and St. Petersburg commercial groups that saw their tasks differently; skilled artisans, factory proletarians, and low-paid service employees with widely differing ambitions. Important also were strong countervailing tendencies: patriotic and nationalist commitments that mitigated social and political conflict after the outbreak of the war, for example, the increasing interdependence of urban and rural economies, and the extensive social interactions between urban and rural communities.<sup>5</sup> The fall of the old regime in Russia did not preordain the nature of conflict that followed. Along with the task of creating a new political and social order came the opportunity to recast social relationships and, to some degree, even social values.

Petrograd and Moscow were the crucial testing grounds. Despite accusations to the contrary, industrialists and workers had a common interest in maintaining production after February, 1917. Food shortages, crowded housing, the high costs (and scarcity) of “items of primary need,” as they were called, intensified the demand for jobs, even as deteriorating conditions provoked unrest. Few industrialists were blind to the power their mobilized employees might have to alter fundamentally the nature of Russia’s capitalist expansion. Animosities and unyielding hostility ran deep, and historical memory was strong on both sides. The simultaneous formation of the Provisional Government and the soviets in early March represented not only the bifurcation of power but also the opportunity to mediate profound social conflict. The institutionalization of labor interests in the

<sup>3</sup> For a general historiographical discussion of this problem, see Ronald Grigor Suny, “Toward a Social History of the October Revolution,” *AHR*, 88 (1983): 31–52.

<sup>4</sup> Leopold Haimson, “The Problem of Social Stability in Urban Russia, 1905–1914,” *Slavic Review*, 23 (1964): 619–42; 24 (1965): 1–22; and “Observations on the Politics of the Russian Countryside,” *The Politics of Rural Russia, 1905–1914* (Bloomington, Ind., 1979), 261–300. See also Roberta T. Manning, *The Crisis of the Old Order in Russia: Gentry and Government* (Princeton, N.J., 1982); Victoria E. Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion: Workers’ Politics and Organizations in St. Petersburg and Moscow, 1900–1914* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983); and Robert Edelman, *Gentry Politics on the Eve of the Russian Revolution* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980).

<sup>5</sup> See especially Joseph Bradley, *Muzhik and Muscovite: Urbanization in Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1985).

soviets was as much an opportunity to deflect civil war through negotiation as it was a threat to the political strength of the regime.

The social processes involved in the polarization of Russia in 1917 thus deserve scrutiny, as a way of both testing the validity of the concept and, equally important, of giving it historical content. We propose to look closely at key elements of labor activism in Moscow and Petrograd and at labor-management relations. There is, of course, more to the story than we can analyze here. But these dimensions of the problem lay at its core, and, even in broad contour, it is in labor activism that we can see most clearly the emerging elements of Russia's urban social revolution.

One must note first the ways in which revolution changed the context of public life in Russia, just as it did in revolutionary France and elsewhere. The fall of the autocracy radically expanded the opportunities for workers and employers to pursue individual or collective interests. Strikes and other previously illegal forms of work protest were suddenly legal; conventions and congresses of industrialists and merchants, regularly banned in the last years of the old order, were not only possible but essential as a means of adjusting the needs of industry to the demands of the wartime democratic order.<sup>6</sup> In effect, both major contenders for power in the workplace were confronted after February, 1917 with the unprecedented task of finding new methods of struggle to achieve their goals. The goals themselves reflected the legacy of past conflict. The relationship of the methods to the values, principles, and institutions of democratic Russia critically affected, and perhaps ultimately determined, the ability of that order to survive.

In taking up these matters, one must deal with a range of subjective as well as quantifiable data. By "social polarization," we are referring not only to the emergence of contending power blocs but to mentalities as well. An integral element of the polarization process in 1917 was the development in commercial and industrial arenas of competing and incompatible sets of values, of different concepts of "property," a common understanding of which (or, at least, a consistently imposed and regulated definition of which) is essential to social and political stability. Social values in revolutionary Russia were more often expressed in actions than in words, making the task of forging a new society that much more difficult. No constitution or Magna Carta molded a collective state consciousness. Activism thus assumed a central place in the repertoire of revolutionary discourse. And, while all collective actions necessarily embody some value system, the centrality of this behavior to Russia in 1917 lay in the very malleability of revolutionary politics: the political process itself knew no formal or constraining boundaries. Economic circumstance, organization, tradition, and what might be called a "sense of the possible" shaped its limits. Labor activism created and then constantly re-created the boundaries of political struggle, defining norms and

<sup>6</sup> Under tsarist rule, strikes defined by the authorities as "political" were illegal, while those defined as "economic" were at least formally considered legal, although agitation in favor of *any* strike or work stoppage was not.

values while it put in place the new order's political and socioeconomic institutions.<sup>7</sup>

The most visible form of worker activism in 1917 was the strike, a form of protest that had occupied a central and traditional role in the Russian labor movement. Memories of the great Nevskii cotton-spinning strike of 1870, the Morozov strike in 1885, the strike waves of 1905–07, 1912–14, and the immediate pre-war period constituted touchstones for the organizational efforts of labor activists in pre-revolutionary Russia.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, strikes had acquired enormous political significance with the attention given them by the tsarist government. The reams of strike data compiled assiduously by tsarist factory inspectors speak to the centrality of strikes in the public consciousness before the revolution. But strikes are only one index of worker activism. They are also risky because they usually jeopardize a worker's wages and welfare. Since other forms of activity could sometimes achieve the goals of workers with less risk, it is hardly surprising that Russian workers in 1917 contended for a share of the revolutionary settlement by a variety of acts in and outside the factory, virtually all of which impinged directly or indirectly on labor-management relations. These other forms involved every manner of action, from mob justice to secondary boycotts, from searches of managers' apartments and company warehouses to threats on the lives of foremen and their "carting out" from factories and plants. Both strikes and these less uniform expressions of activism provide important and complementary evidence of the polarization process in the critical arena of labor-management relations.<sup>9</sup>

Our information on strikes comes from a file of slightly more than 1,000 work stoppages reported to have begun between 3 March and 25 October.<sup>10</sup> Collected from contemporary newspapers, Soviet archival publications, and archival documents, these materials are part of a larger project in which we examine major questions of labor activism and mobilization during the revolution. To explore forms of non-strike activity, we have also catalogued some 350 additional incidents that were not related to strikes, and that occurred between 3 March and 25 October in Moscow and Petrograd.<sup>11</sup> These two cities, which in 1917 employed about 33

<sup>7</sup> The best sociological discussion of collective action, and one to which we owe a substantial intellectual debt, is in Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (Reading, Mass., 1978).

<sup>8</sup> See Leopold Haimson and Ronald Petrusha, "Two Strike Waves in Imperial Russia (1905–07, 1912–14): A Quantitative Analysis," in Leopold Haimson, Michelle Perrot, and Charles Tilly, eds., *Patterns in the Evolution of Industrial Labor Conflicts in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

<sup>9</sup> Workers also adopted less active forms of protest in 1917, which, while important, are not our focus here. They passed scores of resolutions at factory meetings, for example, and often sent them off to soviet leaders and government officials alike, reviving an ancient protest tradition that the tsarist regime had only recently proscribed. They also participated in an almost constant series of elections, sending representatives to local and central soviets, electing delegates to district and city governments, organizing trade unions and various workers' conferences, and frequently electing and re-electing various factory committees. On occasion, these "passive" protests sent strong messages, as when Bolsheviks were elected to head the Petrograd and Moscow soviets in August and September. See the discussion in Diane Koenker, *Moscow Workers and the 1917 Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1981), especially chaps. 4–6.

<sup>10</sup> By "strike," we mean a collective work stoppage with common goals. See our chapter, "Strikes in Revolution, Russia, 1917," in Haimson, *Patterns*, forthcoming, for further discussion of strike data.

<sup>11</sup> Our data are limited to incidents that were reported in the contemporary press or in subsequent Soviet documentary publications, and that we think involved workers.

percent of the Russian factory labor force, also accounted for approximately one third of all reported strikes in Russia between March and October, involving approximately 850,000 strikers.<sup>12</sup> Countless labor protests in this period went unreported, of course, and our data are obviously not complete. Even if the data cannot be used with statistical precision, they constitute an extensive sample and provide a good basis for exploring the effects of worker protests in 1917 on labor-management relations and the processes of social polarization. Equally important, since our records are drawn from the contemporary press, the set of actions that inform our study also shaped public perceptions of social reality in 1917.

OF THE MANY DETERMINANTS OF WORKER ACTIVISM, none are more important or more difficult to analyze than the stimuli and constraints of historical circumstance. Sociologists and social historians differ on the relative weight they assign to objective factors (organization, goals, resources) and subjective ones (ideology, charisma, values) in explaining labor protest, but the question of why particular forms of action occurred at particular moments always depends to some extent on historical context and the perceptions of the participants themselves: how they understand the likely consequences of this or that action, how they estimate alternatives, and how they perceive what is timely and appropriate to shared social values. This understanding may or may not be fully conscious. Activists may choose a particular form of struggle after carefully weighing likely gains and possible losses, or they may act in the heat of the moment. Alternative actions may be avoided because they contradict political values or a clearly articulated political program, or simply because they are not part of the familiar and customary repertoire of a particular group in society at a given moment.

In this regard, the February revolution in Russia radically changed the environment of protest without engendering a clear sense of what was “appropriate” and “acceptable” or producing the coercive mechanism to constrain activism within these limits. Massive strikes and demonstrations had brought down a repressive autocracy distinguished by its inability to appreciate the value of orderly and routine social protest. What, then, was to be “orderly” and “routine” under the new regime? What were the boundaries of “legitimate” activism, and how could they be regulated?

One set of answers was implicit in the general conceptualization of “bourgeois democracy” shared by Provisional Government officials and soviet leaders alike. For the moment, democratic Russia would move forward as a Western industrial nation guided by principles and laws similar to those of European and American democracies. The rights gained by workers in the West would finally be recognized in Russia as a necessary first step toward social stability based on the orderly resolution of labor-management conflicts. Trade unions and other labor organi-

<sup>12</sup> Employment figures are from L. S. Gaponenko, *Rabochii klass Rossii v 1917 g.* (Moscow, 1970), 116; David Mandel, *The Petrograd Workers and the Fall of the Old Regime* (London, 1983), 45; and Koenker, *Moscow Workers and the 1917 Revolution*, chap. 1.

zations, including factory committees, would be welcomed as agents of labor's legitimate involvement in matters of primary concern. Factory despotism would disappear along with other vestiges of tsarist rule. And the right to strike was now a necessary (if at times unwelcome and extreme) form of labor's struggle for material betterment and hence an integral part of democratic labor-management relations. "Labor is the basic productive force of the country," the new minister of trade and industry, A. I. Konovalov, optimistically insisted, on assuming his new position. "The welfare of the motherland depends upon labor's achievements. The Minister of Trade and Industry believes that a correct approach to and proper solution of the labor question is a most urgent problem . . . [He] will strive wholeheartedly to satisfy, as much as possible, the needs of the workers, hoping, however, for vigorous cooperation on their part."<sup>13</sup>

Of primary concern to Konovalov and others was Russia's deteriorating economy and its relation to the war effort. By the end of 1916, output per worker had declined substantially in virtually all industrial branches, falling as much as 12 percent compared to pre-war levels, even in leading defense plants. Real wages had also declined some 10 percent in the aggregate since the start of the war (although they had increased in metals and chemicals); the cost of foodstuffs and other items of primary need had increased on the average some 200 percent.<sup>14</sup> The actual relationship between rising prices, especially of foodstuffs, and falling industrial productivity was by no means clear, but the need to mitigate obvious sources of labor discontent in the interest of increasing output was broadly felt in government and industrial circles. If the new regime could effectively revitalize Russia's production efforts in support of the war, a military victory would secure the country's "rightful" place in the competitive postwar global marketplace.

These views dominated public discourse during the first weeks of the new order, a time when major changes were introduced in Petrograd and Moscow factories as a result of workers' initiatives and the famous March 10th accord on an eight-hour work day and factory committees. On that date, representatives from more than 300 enterprises in Petrograd agreed at a general session of the Petrograd Society of Factory and Mill Owners (PSFMO) to accept the eight-hour day as a general standard, without wage reductions, and to sanction factory committees as organizations to represent the interests of workers.<sup>15</sup> Leaders of the PSFMO, under great pressure, understood very well Russia's new political realities. They also saw the value of concessions in improving productivity and restoring a semblance of industrial order.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See *Vestnik Vremennago Pravitel'stva*, 7 March 1917, *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Rossii posle sverzheniia samoderzhavii* (Moscow, 1957), 438, and the discussion in Gaponenko, 226 and following.

<sup>14</sup> Tsentral'noe Statisticheskoe Upravlenie (TsSU) *Trudy*, 26 (Moscow, 1926): 38, 57, 70, 76–77; *Statistika truda*, 1 (1918): 10–11.

<sup>15</sup> *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie Rossii nakanune velikoi Oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii: Dokumenty i materialy*, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1957), 1: 511–13.

<sup>16</sup> The agreement on 10 March between the PSFMO and the Soviet was largely the result of Konovalov's success in getting PSFMO leaders to meet with Soviet Executive Committee members shortly after assuming his ministerial post. The sessions apparently took place in the ministry. A report appears in *Promyshlennost' i torgovlia*, 8–9 (1917): 214. PSFMO leaders included V. D. Zhukov from



These concessions were also a means of securing another component of the March 10th agreement that industrialists regarded as an even more fundamental workplace reform, the creation of conciliation boards (*primiritel'nye kamery*). These boards were intended to resolve labor-management disputes without costly strikes; they were to be established on the basis of labor-management parity within each enterprise that was party to the agreement. Initially, they had no formal legal status, could not impose sanctions for noncompliance, and were only consultative organizations whose success depended on the goodwill of both parties. The PSFMO clearly hoped, however, that they would facilitate the rapid settlement of disputes "free from any sort of external pressure" and, in particular, would prevent the expulsion of foremen and other supervisory personnel without at least some review.<sup>17</sup> For contentious issues, or issues "of general interest to all Petrograd enterprises or a particular group of enterprises," a Central Conciliation Board was created, composed of representatives in equal numbers from the PSFMO and the Petrograd Soviet.<sup>18</sup>

The creation of the central board was symbolically important. In effect, the political and moral authority of the Petrograd Soviet, dominated by moderate socialists, was being enlisted from the start for the Herculean task of resolving industrial disputes in an orderly manner. The central board began to function on 31 March with sixteen representatives and the Soviet's blessing. Similar institutions were soon organized elsewhere.<sup>19</sup> One can thus discern in prominent institutions during the first months of the new order the emergence of a consensus on both the appropriate means for resolving labor-management conflict and the general boundaries of "legitimate" labor activism, even if no mechanism was developed to assure that these boundaries were respected.

Yet even a cursory glance over the field of conflict from March to October suggests a disparity between what was "legitimate" and what happened. Broadly speaking, there were two categories of protest actions throughout this period: those that took place around or within the workplace and in the context of labor-management relations, and those that occurred in the streets, in the context of the community. Each exhibited patterns of behavior that reflected both

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the Petrograd metal works, L. I. Shpergadze from Erikson, and A. A. Bachmanov from the Lessner complex.

<sup>17</sup> Paragraph 7 of the agreement on 10 March precluded the removal of supervisory personnel without an examination by a conciliation board. See *Izvestiia*, 11 March 1917; N. Dmitriev, "Primiritel'nye kamery v 1917 godu," in A. Anskii, ed., *Professional'noe dvizhenie v Petrograde v 1917 g.* (Leningrad, 1928), 77–78, 512. Conciliation boards had emerged briefly in Russia with the 1905 revolution and were proposed again by the Central War Industries Committee in 1916. See Lewis H. Siegelbaum, *The Politics of Industrial Mobilization in Russia: A Study of the War Industries Committees* (New York, 1983), 176–78.

<sup>18</sup> Dmitriev, "Primiritel'nye kamery v 1917 godu," 77–78.

<sup>19</sup> The Moscow Soviet enacted a general policy on conciliation boards in early April and organized its own central conciliation board in May. The legal constitution of the boards received formal state approval in August, when the Provisional Government created a commission to draft appropriate legislation. The best discussion of the conciliation boards is by Heather Hogan, "Conciliation Boards in Revolutionary Petrograd: Aspects of the Crisis of Labor-Management Relations in 1917," *Russian History*, 9, (1982): 49–66. See also K. A. Pazhitnov, *Primiritel'nyiia kamery i treteiskii sud v promyshlennosti* (Petrograd, 1917), 25; and I. Rubin, *Primiritel'naia kamera i treteiskii sud* (Moscow, 1917), 20–26.

commitments to and antagonism toward the new order, sometimes within a single incident.

Strikes were the most common form of protest in the workplace. Since they were also the most familiar form of labor conflict in Western Europe and the United States, they were an acknowledged (if resisted) aspect of Russia's industrial order. Perhaps for this reason, the Russian strike movement did not unfold in 1917 as a wave of strikes that increased in intensity over the months, gathering momentum with each specific political crisis. Instead, the evidence suggests that the strike movement followed an uneven trajectory, in which periods of more intense strike activity clustered around what might be described as three stages of the country's revolutionary development.

The first cluster emerged after a period of quiescence in March and April, during which strike activity virtually had ceased. Beginning in the second half of April and lasting until the first week in July, new strikes broke out on the average of three to five a day, compared to one or two in the seven weeks or so after the end of the events in February. Strike activity fell off after the defeat of the July Days uprising in Petrograd, according to the data available to us, and revived again only toward the end of July. From then until late August, we can discern a second, less extensive, cluster of strikes, averaging three to four a day. Strike activity subsided once again at the end of the summer but revived a third time in mid-September. This last cluster, coming at a time of heightened political activity, social conflict, and economic crisis, lasted until the Bolsheviks came to power and was distinguished by the great number of strikers involved.<sup>20</sup>

The workplace was also the scene of many protest actions that did not involve the formal cessation of work, at least initially. Of these, the most common by far was the forcible expulsion of supervisory personnel by workers. Some of these expulsions led to strikes, either by workers or white-collar employees who were colleagues of the targeted supervisor. But the fragmentary records for 1917 suggest that the removal of such persons was most commonly carried out without work stoppages.

Based on reports of these incidents for Petrograd and Moscow, the number of workplace protests during the revolution may have been substantially less than the number of full-fledged strikes, yet one should hardly underestimate their effect on labor-management relations.<sup>21</sup> These events served to carry into 1917 traditions of pre-revolutionary activism that were part of a very different social and political order. A sack nailed to a foreman's office door or pulled over his head

<sup>20</sup> We have catalogued between 19 April and 6 July some 343 strikes out of 815 for the period between 3 March and 25 October for which starting dates are known, involving an estimated 567,000 strikers (a figure that includes the strike of 275,000 Petrograd workers during the July Days). For the period from 29 July to 26 August, we have information on 108 strikes, with 373,000 estimated strikers. For the six weeks between 16 September and 25 October, however, we estimate that more than 1.2 million workers went on strike (including some 700,000 railroad workers and 300,000 textile workers) in 192 strikes, showing a dramatic escalation of the number of participants.

<sup>21</sup> Our data include reports of some 373 strikes between March and October in the two capitals, compared to approximately eighty-five incidents of other work-related actions reported in the same sources during the same period. One has to be wary, however, of the unsystematic way these incidents were reported.

from behind or the act of carting a foreman out of the factory and dumping him in a manure pile to the accompaniment of workers' hoots and jeers had long been treasured weapons in the workers' arsenal.<sup>22</sup> Actions like these invariably raised the specter of unrestrained, coercive violence. In the case of expulsions, foremen were usually removed with little more than symbolic violence. (In one case, a threatened manager sat himself in the wheelbarrow and invited workers to cart him out.)<sup>23</sup> But there were also cases of beatings and even murder. An ousted foreman at the Respirator gas mask factory, for example, was beaten severely after he tried to resist by shooting his revolver at the protesting workers.<sup>24</sup>

Coercion and the specter of violence also accompanied plant seizures and the confiscation of property, another important category of worker protests.<sup>25</sup> As far as we can determine, most episodes of this sort in 1917 occurred where plants had already closed, as workers attempted to resume production on their own authority. In these instances, the actual violence involved appears to have been minimal, but the threat of violence was itself often coercive and an additional element of importance in labor-management relations.<sup>26</sup> More than once, organizations such as the PSFMO felt impelled to condemn workers' violent tendencies.<sup>27</sup> To complete this general catalogue of work-related protests, we should note the large number of resolutions, petitions, complaints to local soviets, and other public efforts to expose factory abuses, which led to conflicts being resolved without strikes. These petitions represent, along with formal legal redress (of which we find little published evidence), methods compatible with support for a stable political order.

Since the streets were now free, large numbers of protests occurred outside the workplace, in working-class neighborhoods, the marketplace, and other areas of the city. Collective activity in the streets is more difficult to evaluate than activity at work, but its existence surely influenced popular perceptions of disorder and violence as much as strikes did.

The most prevalent form of street action was crowd justice, or *samosudy*.<sup>28</sup> As Tsuyoshi Hasegawa has pointed out, crime increased significantly in Petrograd (and elsewhere) after February, as many ordinary criminals were released from

<sup>22</sup> See Eduard Dune, "Zapiski krasnogvardeitsa," unpublished manuscript in the Hoover Institution, Stanford, Calif., chap. 1. For Petrograd and Moscow, we have found only six recorded cases of "carting out" in 1917, substantially less than we had expected, but again, such traditional rituals may often have gone unreported.

<sup>23</sup> They did. This occurred at the Sampsonievskaiia textile mill, in a dispute over pay. See *Novaia zhizn'*, 7 July 1917.

<sup>24</sup> *Novaia zhizn'*, 7 May 1917. Also in *Rech'*, 7 May 1917, which omits the detail about the revolver. Elsewhere, a sniper attempted to shoot the director of the Dinamo factory, wounding instead the factory committee chairman, engaged in negotiations in the director's office at the time. See *Russkie vedomosti*, 8 September 1917. S. A. Smith reports that Putilov workers murdered the plant director and his aide in the first days of March. See S. A. Smith, *Red Petrograd* (Cambridge, 1983), 55.

<sup>25</sup> A nearby estate and its inventory were seized to provide workers in the Shlissel'burg munitions factory with milk, for example, an antidote to the poisons ingested in the production of gunpowder. See *Novaia zhizn'*, 19 May 1917.

<sup>26</sup> We have catalogued only one case, in fact, of an outright expropriation of a going concern.

<sup>27</sup> See, for example, *Izvestiia*, 21 March 1917.

<sup>28</sup> Translated in some dictionaries as "lynching," but meaning, rather, "lynch-law."

city jails, and as economic conditions deteriorated.<sup>29</sup> A number of criminal “colonies” appeared, particularly around the Olympia amusement park, and on Vasilevskii Island. The city’s militia was relatively ineffective in combating crime. The criminals were well armed, and the authorities had difficulty in detaining criminal suspects.<sup>30</sup> What interests us, however, is not the rise in crime but the tendency of those in the streets throughout 1917 to take justice into their own hands. In some cases, crowds apprehending a thief would attack and beat the culprit severely, at times, to death. In other cases, the victims were local officials, or shopkeepers and peddlers accused of speculation and hoarding. “Justice” would be dispensed quickly and harshly, though usually not with the severity reserved for criminals. Although the crowd’s identity in the reports is almost always vague, there is no lack of detail about its angry and violent behavior.

Another manifestation of community action consisted of food riots and the appropriation of scarce goods. The major urban newspapers recorded about four dozen cases of these incidents, equally distributed between Moscow and Petrograd. These incidents strongly resembled the disorders that led to the downfall of the tsar in February (and also the consumer riots that can be found as far back as the eighteenth century in England and France.) Again, most reports of these incidents do not identify the crowd, but, in the case of food disorders, women seem to have played an important role.<sup>31</sup> Protest in the setting of the community also took the form of demonstrations, incidents involving the search and seizure of weapons by workers, seizure of property unrelated to factories, product boycotts (especially of newspapers), political arrests, and the liberating of political prisoners. Twelve major political demonstrations also took place in Petrograd and Moscow between March and October, including the well-known protests sparked by Foreign Minister P. N. Miliukov’s note in April, the Soviet-sponsored demonstration in Petrograd on 18 June, and lesser protests to demand that the vote be extended to eighteen-year-olds, to protest the war, and to protest the death penalty for the Austrian Social-Democrat, Friedrich Adler.

It is difficult to assess the import of these incidents. Under what circumstances, for example, should crowd actions properly be construed as protests? Although the beating of a thief can be seen as an act of protest against a government that is powerless to preserve order and the destruction of a bread store or food stall can be seen as a protest against economic conditions or the economic system as a whole, both are actions qualitatively different from strikes or demonstrations.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The newspaper *Petrogradskii listok*, 24 April 1917, estimated as many as 20,000 ordinary criminals were set free in early March.

<sup>30</sup> Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, “Crime and Revolution in Petrograd, 1917,” unpublished paper, 1981, 5–8.

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, *Russkoe slovo*, 26 August 1917; *Trudovaia kopeika*, 2 September 1917; *Russkoe slovo*, 2 September 1917; *Delo naroda*, 3 September 1917; and *Trudovaia kopeika*, 12 September 1917. Students of European protest stress that women were disproportionately involved in such activism: it was the woman’s role to put food on the table, and she did the marketing and paid the food bills out of the family income. See George Rudé, *The Crowd in History* (New York, 1964); Louise Tilly, “The Food Riot as a Form of Political Conflict in France,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 2 (1972): 23–57; and James Cronin, “Insurgency and Class Formation,” *Social Science History*, 4 (1980): 134–35, 144–45.

<sup>32</sup> In most instances, again, the nature of the crowds that dispensed street justice is far from clear; and, in any case, the relationship historically between the “mob” and the “working class” has been a

Also, in contrast to factory-related incidents, the setting of street actions usually tells little about their purposes or participants. Incidents of crowd justice occurred throughout Petrograd (and in Moscow, though apparently less frequently). Open markets, fertile territory for pickpockets and crowds mobilized against these miscreants, were the scene of several incidents. Crowd justice was dispensed often in central districts but even more heavily in outlying areas. Perhaps such incidents were more prevalent in neighborhoods with concentrations of soldiers; they do not appear to have been especially frequent in the neighborhoods of industrial workers. Many episodes of crowd justice, for example, were reported in the southern and eastern districts of Petrograd, while only two were noted in the Vyborg region, center of working-class autonomy and militancy. For all this uncertainty, however, there is little question that these episodes strongly affected perceptions about workers' values and commitments among leaders of the Soviet, trade-industrial groups, and the new government.

IN THE EARLY WEEKS OF THE REVOLUTION, MANAGEMENT HAD MUCH TO GAIN from a peaceful resolution of factory grievances. Russia was at war, and necessary first and foremost to industrialists and manufacturers was a climate in which investment and management decisions could be made with some degree of confidence in the future of the state and the European capitalist order: a climate of economic security, political stability, and social peace. "The pressing task of the moment," *Promyshlennost' i torgovlia*, the leading trade-industrial journal editorialized, is "the creation in the country of a firm legal order and a solid government, acting on the basis of strict legality."<sup>33</sup>

At first, these goals seemed within reach. Several strikes over wages began in Petrograd soon after the formation of the new government, but the agreement between the Soviet and the PSFMO on 10 March brought them to a halt.<sup>34</sup> In Moscow, where no agreement had been signed, and where workers sought the same gains as their Petrograd comrades did, strikes occurred during the second and third weeks of March in a number of textile plants, but steady pressure by

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difficult one to clarify. Two theoretical paradigms illustrate the conceptual problem. On the one hand is the identification of the "laboring classes" as the "dangerous classes," a common nineteenth-century assumption and one reflected in Louis Chevalier's important work on Parisian life, *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses* (Paris, 1958). On the other hand is the paradigm that distinguishes the "proletariat"—class-conscious workers—from the "'dangerous class,' the social scum," as Marx and Engels distinguished them in "The Communist Manifesto," *Selected Works of Marx and Engels* (New York, 1968), 44. The proletariat protested in the factory, facilitated by the organization of work, while the "scum" constituted the mob. Both views, however, are faulty. As Tilly and Lees have pointed out, workers in the first view are assumed *a priori* to be criminals because of their habits, poverty, and lack of a stake in the social order. See Charles Tilly and Lynn Lees, "Le Peuple de juin 1848," *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 29 (1974): 1061–91; and Charles Tilly, Louise Tilly, and Richard Tilly, *The Rebellious Century 1830–1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975). The second view ignores the reality of urban life, in which workers live in a heterogeneous community and often mingle with the poor, pickpockets, street hawkers, and deserters.

<sup>33</sup> *Promyshlennost' i torgovlia*, 8–9 (1917): 186–88.

<sup>34</sup> The most important of these occurred at the Old Parviainen works on 7 March.



Minister of Trade and Industry, Konovalov, weakened owners' resistance.<sup>35</sup> And, while the Moscow Society of Factory and Mill Owners (MSFMO) continued to reject the type of accord signed in Petrograd, workers and managers in most plants were already resolving the questions by themselves.<sup>36</sup> Virtually all strikes in Moscow were settled by agreement in March, and fewer strikes began in both Petrograd and Moscow during the first two weeks of April than in any other comparable period of the revolution.

It was in the area of non-strike actions, however, that pressures were building in the factories to undermine this relative calm. Most important was the degree to which workers in many major enterprises were acting without resorting to strikes to resolve longtime grievances, frequently by expelling foremen or rewriting factory rules. These actions rarely had to do with wages, but the impact on labor-management relations was all the greater because individual personalities were directly involved. Foremen and administrators were forceably expelled in Petrograd from Langenzippen, Treugolnik, the Russian-American rubber plant, Pressovaia metal works, Putilov, Peter the Great arsenal, the Lafetno stamping plant, and the heel shop of Skorokhod leather, among other enterprises, during the first three weeks of March; and, in Moscow, from major plants such as Trekhgornaia, Erikson, the Pavlov mechanical works, and Bromlei. Moscow workers at the Provodnik chemical works, which manufactured gunpowder and other military supplies, "arrested" several engineers who appeared to be against the war, while workers at Kauchuk rubber, Putilov, Treugolnik, and elsewhere threatened management with violence over wage issues and blocked some administrators from entering the factory, though not formally expelling them or demanding they be fired.

These actions were not simply "illegal" according to any standard that recognized property rights or the inviolability of person but they were also coercive and almost all successful. Only in a handful of instances do we find more passive forms of worker protest recorded: workers from the Putilov, Krug, Shkilin and Kirsh, and Beshekeroov factories boycotted the "bourgeois" press for "baiting and slandering workers," for example, or silversmiths at the Winter Palace petitioned the Soviet for an improvement in their working conditions. In virtually every other reported instance, workers found themselves able to resolve grievances by means of their own choosing, with little adverse effect on their own well-being. No major factories closed because of worker militancy in March and April, as far as we can determine, and no workers were arrested for violating the rights of managers. Nor were the actions of workers limited by a lack of resources or organization. Until the first major political crisis erupted in demonstrations in late April, collective

<sup>35</sup> On 16 March, for example, Konovalov convened a meeting of trade industrialists to discuss this and related issues and urged accommodation, emphasizing that "freedom and order" would be basic goals of the new regime, within the framework of the existing economic system. *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie posle sverzheniia*, 438. Among the leading Moscow plants struck in early March were the Lebedev and Korolov works, the Merkurii, Shevrokhrom, Rus and other leather (bootmaking) factories, and the Rozental', Borochin, Men'shikov and Gakental' metal plants.

<sup>36</sup> Koenker, *Moscow Workers and the 1917 Revolution*, 107–08.

actions were almost entirely by individual groups of workers in individual plants, spread broadly across major industrial branches.<sup>37</sup>

These successes may have engendered among workers in Petrograd and Moscow during March and April a somewhat grandiose sense of what direct collective action could achieve, although it is difficult to document attitudes of this sort. Factory workers were certainly not intimidated by state power or by the city militia, which had virtually ceased to function in industrial areas such as the Vyborg district, across the Neva from the city's center.<sup>38</sup> Nor is there any indication that the authority of plant and shop managers (to fire workers or impose fines, for example) was an effective restraint. Most important, the conciliation boards were soon ruling overwhelmingly in favor of the workers on virtually all grievances involving rudeness or assaults on workers' dignity, and even in most cases involving the expulsion of foremen or the recovery of wages lost during the March strikes. These institutions, which management had earlier embraced as a means of peaceful coexistence with labor, appeared instead to legitimize forms of direct action.<sup>39</sup>

Also, these actions quickly created doubts among industrialists and businessmen about the ability of Russia's new order to contain labor protests within formal boundaries. The Petrograd Council of Trade and Industrial Congresses (Soviet S"ezdov) notified its members that all factory disputes must be sent to the boards, but it seems clear that many (if not most) individual owners and plant managers had little confidence in this mechanism as a way of securing social peace.<sup>40</sup> Central conciliation boards, closely identified with the Moscow and Petrograd city soviets, were established during March and early April to resolve cases that factories wanted examined by outsiders and to deal with disputes affecting more than one enterprise. The majority of issues concerned wage disputes at major enterprises.<sup>41</sup> When the central board in Petrograd agreed in a series of cases to accept increased wage norms for certain categories of workers, however, the owners of small and middle-sized enterprises (with generally fewer than 200 workers) categorically refused to accept them, arguing through spokesmen in the Petrograd Committee of Medium and Small Industry (*Petrogradskii Komitet Srednei i Melkoi Promyshlennosti*) that to impose uniform wage levels based on the finances of large plants like Putilov and Parviainen would destroy smaller enterprises and only advance the interests of the Petrograd industrial barons.<sup>42</sup> When the PSFMO similarly agreed in early April to raise the wages of unskilled laborers in the city's dye factories from

<sup>37</sup> We record some forty factory-based protests between 7 March and 18 April in Petrograd and Moscow in textiles, food processing, leather, printing, construction, chemicals (rubber), and service enterprises, although the heaviest concentration were in Petrograd metal plants.

<sup>38</sup> See Rex A. Wade, *Red Guards and Workers' Militias in the Russian Revolution* (Stanford, Calif., 1985), especially chaps. 3–4.

<sup>39</sup> On the very day *Izvestiia* published the March 10th agreement, for example, workers at the Admiralty shipbuilding works threw out some fifty administrators without any thought of a board review.

<sup>40</sup> See *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 1: 164. The letter also urged strikes be avoided.

<sup>41</sup> Dmitriev, "Primiritel'nye kamery v 1917 godu," 92–94.

<sup>42</sup> Dmitriev, "Primiritel'nye kamery v 1917 godu," 94.

two to five rubles a day, the owners and managers of most smaller dyeworks refused to agree.<sup>43</sup>

By mid-April, consequently, despite the relative absence of strikes and a lack of unanimity among Russia's industrial and managerial classes, tensions between management and labor were increasing, especially in smaller Moscow and Petrograd enterprises. When striking Petrograd pharmacy workers proposed in mid-April to submit their dispute to the arbitration board set up by the labor section of the Petrograd Soviet, shopowners refused to participate.<sup>44</sup> Despite the ideological and political commitments of the new regime to "preserving and strengthening the existing order," as Konovalov and others put it, Russia's major industrialists and manufacturers still had to be convinced that the government would be able to enforce its principles and obligations. In effect, both the rationality of the new order, defined in terms of its ability to resolve fundamental grievances through norms and procedures that brought real benefits, and its power, measured in terms of its ability to make these procedures work, were under serious challenge.

AS HISTORIANS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION WELL KNOW, massive anti-war demonstrations broke out in Petrograd on 20 and 21 April, partly in response to Foreign Minister Miliukov's reaffirmation of tsarist Russia's war aims. Within two weeks, pressure from below forced Miliukov and Minister of War, A. I. Guchkov, to resign, and the Provisional Government reorganized into a coalition, with socialists holding a minority of cabinet positions. These events reinforced the developing lines of struggle on both sides of the management-labor divide, revealing the degree to which power still lay in the streets. There was nothing illegal *per se* about the demonstrations, and a case could be made that they were an expression of the rights of citizens in a democratic society to assemble and petition their leaders. But their tenor was such as to suggest that just below the surface of democratic form was a play of forces having little to do with constitutional niceties. Direct action had toppled the tsarist regime, and the experience clearly taught Petrograd workers that the streets offered an opportunity to change governmental policies. Miliukov's resignation and the subsequent decision to bring socialists into the cabinet, to which the leaders of the Petrograd Soviet only agreed with extreme reluctance on 1 May, set the stage for a full effort on the part of workers and management to strengthen their control of the course of events.

The principal tactic of workers everywhere became the strike, which engaged service and industrial workers in every province of European Russia. Unlike the massive wave of strikes at the end of 1916 and early 1917, however, most work stoppages were relatively small and principally concerned with wages and working conditions, not questions of workers' control that directly challenged owner or

<sup>43</sup> F. Bulkin, "Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie rabochikh Petrograda nakanune Oktiabria 1917 goda," in *Professional'noe dvizhenie v Petrograde v 1917 g.*, A. Anskii, ed. (Leningrad, 1928), 39.

<sup>44</sup> *Rabochaia gazeta*, 25 April 1917.

managerial rights in the enterprise. The largest number of strikes during this period of widespread activity (approximately 30 percent) occurred in Moscow. Only some 15 percent of the strikes for which we have information began in Petrograd between 19 April and 6 July.

This spring cluster of strikes should not be interpreted as early evidence of the extremely polarized views that came to characterize management and labor in October, that is, as the beginning of a new revolutionary upsurge. Strikes were still broadly regarded as “legitimate” weapons of protest, however undesirable from the viewpoint of the government and employers. The spring cluster of strikes involved retail clerks, service employees, and other nonindustrial workers, rather than simply industrial workers from the country’s large metal plants, as was the case before February. On the day the coalition cabinet was announced, for example, thousands of Petrograd laundry workers at more than 600 establishments left their jobs in a noisy and well-publicized protest, as if to symbolize the determination of “forgotten” labor groups to join the fight for social betterment. To be sure, metal workers continued to constitute the largest number of protesters in absolute terms during the spring, accounting for some 20 percent of the strikes and as much as 45 percent of the strikers (even excluding the July Days strikes). But the spread of strikes to a large number of Russian service workers suggests more the legitimization of strike protests in these weeks than it does a sharp division in civil society.

Strikes were clearly an effective means of securing wage concessions in the spring. Economic conditions in both Moscow and Petrograd, though difficult, had improved somewhat from the late winter and were far from subsequent crisis conditions. Food prices had increased (up in June some 39 percent from March and 150 percent from January in Moscow, for example, for bread, meat and meat products, fish, vegetables, milk and dairy products), but supply problems had eased, and the prices of sugar, salt, and tea remained constant. Strikes were more likely than other forms of protest to secure gains quickly, particularly wage increases, since few employers were yet willing to risk a prolonged halt in production. Strikes were particularly effective in metalworking because of the government’s renewed commitment to the war, but they were useful elsewhere as well, in textiles, on the railroads, and in the service sector.<sup>45</sup> The Petrograd laundry workers won their well-publicized strike, for example, because shopowners, while resistant, could afford the concessions demanded, and because the laundry workers received sympathy and support from other labor groups. With soviet spokesmen now in the coalition government, and with factory committees formally recognized through the government’s legislation of 23 April, the opportunities for real gains through legal strikes were no doubt appealing to many in the factory (especially trade-union activists), more so than other forms of direct action. The spring cluster of strikes should be understood more as a reflection of greater willingness to use the formal mechanisms of legitimate struggle in Russia’s new

<sup>45</sup> See the discussion in William G. Rosenberg, “The Democratization of Russia’s Railroads in 1917,” *AHR*, 88 (1981): 983–1008.

“bourgeois” order than as an attack on the order itself. The strike movement in the spring may not have signified an acceptance of the order but neither should it be construed as a rejection of it.

In support of this proposition is the relative absence of strike-related violence, the relatively few number of strikes involving seizures of factories or other patently illegal actions, and the relatively high number of strikes that involved more than token negotiations with management and resulted in some form of compromise. Negotiations to settle and avoid strikes occurred more frequently between management and labor in these weeks over strike-related issues than in any other period of the revolution. Silk workers in Moscow, Petrograd warehouse workers, engravers, glassworkers, metalists, even workers in the Respirator gas mask factory in Moscow, who were among that city’s most militant, entered into talks after indicating their intention to strike and agreed for the time being to postpone their walkouts. Elsewhere, negotiations resulted in settlements that completely avoided strikes.

Also, we find fairly substantial evidence that Petrograders and Muscovites were reluctant to take their grievances to the streets in this period, except as they pertained to government policies, a perfectly legal form of protest.<sup>46</sup> Cases of lynch-law occurred, but it is particularly noteworthy that these actions were directed almost entirely against the violators of social order in May and early June rather than against the institutions or persons representing or supporting that order. No attacks on government or soviet officials are reported, for example, and only an occasional report appeared in the press of attacks against militiamen who failed to apprehend criminals. In most instances, moreover, according to both liberal and socialist newspapers, the culprits were set upon by their attackers and beaten “cruelly.” There seems to have been little tolerance for those suspected of ordinary crime, even among service or industrial workers who might themselves have undertaken harsh actions against their supervisors. At the same time, no reports of market disorders surfaced: no food riots or attacks on salespeople in Petrograd or Moscow during May and June, at least, in the public record. On the contrary, workers and anti-government political demonstrators were themselves the objects of attack in several cases, most notably during the April crisis, and the thieves and burglars assaulted in most instances were hardly the members of propertied groups. In sum, even though incidents of lynch-law seem to have been increasing during these weeks of the first coalition government, boding ill for the future, they still seem to have represented support for, rather than opposition to, the values and principles of Russia’s new “bourgeois-democratic” system.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See Rudé, *Crowd in History*, chap. 5.

<sup>47</sup> In this respect, these acts presented some contrast to the large Petrograd demonstrations against the government and its war policy in April, before the formation of the coalition, as well as to Bolshevik-led efforts to hold a massive (but “peaceful”) protest against the regime on 10 June, which was called off as a result of pressure from the Soviet. See the reports in *Izvestiia*, 10 June 1917, and the documents in *The Russian Provisional Government*, Robert Paul Browder and Alexander F. Kerensky, eds., 3 vols. (Stanford, Calif., 1961), 3: 1311–23.



At the same time, ample evidence exists to suggest that the strength of workers' commitments to "legitimate" struggles such as strikes and legal street demonstrations was not very strong in May and June, and that their reliance on the accepted mechanisms of "bourgeois democracy" in the workplace was tenuous. Workers were impatient for gains, and bargaining talks with management did not usually postpone conflict very long. In a little more than half the relevant cases in our file for May and June, negotiations lasted twenty-one days or less before workers went out on strike. Most lasted one week or less. More important, in only two or three cases of negotiations begun in late April or May did workers postpone their strikes beyond the end of June, even when negotiations were carried on for more than three weeks. Thus, while workers and managers were, for a time, perhaps even more willing than they had been before the April crisis to discuss their differences at the enterprise level, the weeks of the first coalition government marked a shift from relative patience to relative impatience in strike-related conflicts on the part of both management and labor. Whatever the possibilities for constructive and peaceful labor relations presented by the February revolution, the rapidity with which harmony dissolved in these weeks suggests the depth of emotion and experience that underlay pre-war polarization and shaped attitudes in 1917.

Further indication of the shallowness of labor-management cooperation appears in the decreasing role of the conciliation boards during May and June, especially in personnel issues. By early summer, the boards were consulted largely as a consequence of pressure from outside the factory, from government officials such as the new minister of labor, Mikhail Skobelev, or from local soviets. Most often, the problem had to do with an increasingly antagonistic management, whose resistance undoubtedly derived from the boards' continued tendency to favor workers. (We know of only two cases from April through June in which disputes mediated by a factory-based conciliation board resulted in outright defeat for the workers.)<sup>48</sup> Workers may well have had less patience now than earlier with the idea that conciliation boards should review issues workers could solve directly. At the Petrograd streetcar park, for example, workers wheelbarrowed three administrators out of the shops in early May, forcibly preventing a conciliation board from hearing their case.

Finally, in addition to full-fledged strikes, more direct job actions that secured gains were reported during May than for all of March and April (if one excludes events associated with the February revolution and the large demonstrations connected with the April crisis). This increased success was possibly the result of a continued feeling among some plant owners, particularly in smaller enterprises, that the risks associated with concessions were less threatening than those involved with confrontation.<sup>49</sup> It may also have been because workers and others recognized

<sup>48</sup> There is some evidence that a reluctant attitude on the part of management to use the boards resulted more often than not in a compromise settlement, rather than outright victory for the workers. In these weeks, at least, a hard line on the part of enterprise owners may have brought some advantage.

<sup>49</sup> At the same time, leading trade and industry figures publicly and rather demonstratively insisted at a major Petrograd conference in early June that no further concessions of any sort could be given to industrial workers. See the resolutions in *Ekonomicheskoe polozenie*, 1: 181–84.

that non-strike actions could resolve grievances without the risk of halting production and losing wages. Smaller job actions were unlikely to secure higher wages but could effectively resolve conflicts concerning the dignity of the workers or the rules of the workshop.

In either event, what made this range of non-strike activity so important was that, in contrast to the strike movement, it directly confronted the fundamental principles on which Russia's new democratic order was being structured, and on which private enterprise depended for its own and Russia's prosperity. According to the reports we have been able to collect, most incidents that took place in or around individual enterprises in these weeks occurred in Petrograd, most were nonviolent, and most were directed toward owners or administrators in an effort to settle specific grievances. But an important shift occurred from March to May, away from attacks on individual foremen and plant administrative or engineering personnel and toward more comprehensive forms of collective action, such as exercising control or supervision over some or all activities of the enterprise. More than a dozen such cases were reported for May and early June in Petrograd and Moscow, affecting such major plants as the Gulavi machine and boiler works, the Brenner mechanical works, Petrograd aviation (Lebedev), and the Shlissel'burg munitions works, where workers put all managerial personnel on salaries under their supervision. Collective action in almost all of these instances was designed to keep the enterprises operating and prevent lockouts.

At Guzhon, in Moscow, for example, workers in the castings and bolt shops expelled the foremen in May for not performing their duties in a "proper" way. Other administrators were threatened. An aroused administration, led by the chairman of the board of directors, V. I. Arandarenko, tried to stand firm, insisting to the Guzhon factory committee that any disputes of this sort had to be presented to the board and submitted to the conciliation commission if they could not be resolved. Arandarenko threatened to close the factory if the factory committee could not guarantee the safety of foremen and other administrators. The Guzhon factory committee responded that such guarantees were impossible and, in any event, unnecessary if administrators fulfilled their jobs properly. It stated that the workers' decisions in these two cases were "final," that the conflict therefore did not need to go to arbitration. Adding insult to injury, the committee announced that the administrator in charge of passport registration and plant security was also being summarily expelled.

At a factory conference attended by representatives of the Moscow Soviet on 24 May, the Guzhon directors threatened to close the plant unless workers followed a legal course of action. Soviet spokesmen admitted problems were being caused by "unorganized workers with little political awareness" and recognized that the "sole legal route" for the resolution of disputes was through the conciliation board. The directors decided not to close the plant immediately, although the administrators remained "suspended." This retreat caused tremendous agitation among Guzhon's managerial personnel, and, on the afternoon on 25 May, they quit the plant *en masse*. While the board of directors appealed to the militia through the Moscow SFMO for protection, workers seized the plant and announced work

would continue. On 26 May, the managerial staff returned, and the plant's directors acknowledged they were left without any effective defense against violations of their legal rights. Arandarenko wrote that he heard repeated "accusations of lockouts and desertion. Industrialists are not foolhardy, and they know very well that workers thrown into the streets will not remain calm. The fact of the matter is that the very foundations of private industry are being destroyed."<sup>50</sup> Guzhon workers undoubtedly felt differently. Their actions had removed objectionable foremen, blocked the plant's closing, and seemingly secured their control over future Guzhon operations.

Similar events occurred elsewhere.<sup>51</sup> It is important to note that in virtually none of these enterprises were workers also actively involved in strikes.<sup>52</sup> In the factories, then, two powerful tendencies can be discerned, each with different implications for the future: on one hand, extensive and broadly based strike activity, now a legitimate weapon of bargaining and one appropriate to Russia's new social order; on the other, continuous and intense direct action in the factories, bypassing and violating conventional legal practice and undermining not only social stability in the general sense but, more important, the credibility of soviet, trade, industry, and government leaders who remained committed to the "bourgeois-democratic" values of negotiation and compromise, of private property and due process.

THESE ACTIONS TOOK PLACE AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF well-publicized radical activity. Kronstadt sailors established control of their naval base in late May; peasants engaged in acts of increasing disorder in the countryside; Petrograd anarchists seized the Durnovo mansion for their headquarters in early June and expropriated the reactionary newspaper *Rusaskaia volia*. Whether or not these events threatened social stability as sharply as some newspapers maintained, they clearly frightened Russia's bourgeoisie. In fact, industrialists and businessmen seemed eager to use broader signs of social unrest to build their case against strikes, challenging their appropriateness and legitimacy: "The workers have retreated behind their narrow class-based viewpoints," *Promyshlennost' i torgovlia* complained, not only as producers but also as consumers and, most important, as "citizens."

<sup>50</sup> *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 1: 437.

<sup>51</sup> Thus the Brenner factory committee took control of the factory on 24 May and immediately secured shared orders from the Petrograd gun works to keep production going; *Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i fabzavkomy* (Moscow, 1927), pt. 1, 147; the Gulavi workers took over on 26 May because their plant was owned by Germans and its future uncertain; *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Rossii v mae-i-iune 1917 g.* (Moscow, 1959), 283–84; *Velikaia Oktiabr'skaia sotsialisticheskaia revoliutsiia: Khronika sobytii*, 4 vols. (Moscow, 1957–62), 2: 172 (henceforth, *Khronika*). Workers at the Prokhorovskaia Trekhgornaia textile factory in Moscow, alarmed by reports that as many as thirty-three textile plants in the Moscow region had shut down for lack of fuel, resolved in June to take control over fuel and raw materials and give supervisory responsibility in this area to their Control Commission. *Istoriia proletariata SSSR*, 8 (1931). Similar events occurred at the A. V. Bari boiler works in Moscow and the Sestroretsk glass works in Petrograd, among others, where the concerted protests of workers kept production going. *Khronika*, 2: 120, 401.

<sup>52</sup> Of the more than forty enterprises in Moscow and Petrograd in which we know some direct action took place in this period, in fact, only six—the Treugolnik rubber plant, Aivaz metals, the Pavlov mechanical works, Siemens-Shukert, the Liaskovskii tarpaulin factory, and the Moscow automobile works (AMO)—also went out on strike.

Limits had to be set. "Otherwise, all profits will disappear."<sup>53</sup> Although a June conference in Petrograd of leaders in trade industry failed to unify these efforts nationally (largely as a result of the opposition of leading Petrograd industrialists, who would have become a small minority in a national umbrella group), a "Committee to Defend Industry" was formed to coordinate the efforts of some thirteen groups of major industrialists in the capital. A set of strongly worded resolutions on the "obligation" of the government to protect capitalism and to crush control by the workers also removed any lingering ambiguities from the industrialists' position: under the "existing conditions of the world economy, there can be no other economic order in Russia besides capitalism."<sup>54</sup> The rampant anarchy that threatened to destroy all of industry and especially the "fruitless and unqualified harm consequent to all attempts to create some sort of socialist order in individual enterprises" meant there could be no question of "allowing workers to interfere in the management of industrial enterprises, or any sort of factual subordination of factory administration to workers or employees."<sup>55</sup>

There was still diversity, however, in the industrialists' outlook and some flickers of optimism in the Petrograd investment community, at least before the June offensive, which discredited the ability of the Provisional Government to wage war, and until the July uprising, which focused national hostility on the Bolsheviks. Between 1 May and 30 June, 103 new companies were formed throughout Russia, with 256 million rubles of capitalization, in contrast to only thirty-seven companies organized in March and April, and sixty-four in January and February.<sup>56</sup> The ability of the Petrograd Soviet to restrain anti-war demonstrations on 10 June suggested to some that moderates in the Soviet might have the radical left under control; the increasingly receptive response of governmental officials such as Skobelev, the new minister of labor, to industrialists' complaints, seemed to bode well. (On 13 June, Skobelev was reported to have promised South Russian industrialists help in their struggle against the wage demands of workers and indicated that he intended to issue an appeal to workers to this effect in the near future.)<sup>57</sup> Everything seemed to depend on businessmen and industrialists standing firm against new labor demands.

The momentous political events of early July and the collapse of the offensive virtually extinguished these modest hopes. The strength and passion of the July Days, led by the Bolsheviks, asserted once more the power of the streets. Failure at the front suggested the mortal weakness of the state. Order was soon restored but confidence was not, despite Aleksandr Kerenskii's assault on Lenin and his party. Almost overnight, the distinction between "legitimate" labor protest,

<sup>53</sup> *Promyshlennost' i torgovlia*, 12–13 (1917): 244; see also 20–21 (1917): 378–81, and 22–23 (1917). Tradesmen and industrialists were not the only ones shocked. The Menshevik journal *Rabochaia gazeta*, 22 June 1917, wrote of "drunken pogroms and mass rapes of women and girls in many places" in connection with the demonstrations on 18 June, "revealing the ignorance, savagery and brutality which we inherited from the old regime."

<sup>54</sup> Resolutions are in *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 1: 181–84.

<sup>55</sup> *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 181–84.

<sup>56</sup> *Torgovo-Promyshlennaia gazeta*, 13 October 1917.

<sup>57</sup> See the discussion in P. V. Volobuev, *Proletariat i burzhiazia Rossii v 1917 g.* (Moscow, 1964), 205.

appropriate to Russia's new "bourgeois-democratic" order, and "unacceptable" forms of action disappeared, suggesting that these distinctions were tenuous from the start. In fact, there was nothing illegal about the July Days demonstrations or even the urging of soldiers and Vyborg metalworkers, led by the Bolsheviks, that the Soviet take power in place of the provisional regime. The demonstrations threatened not anarchy but a sharp shift of state power to the left and the possible creation of a socialist order. This threat was more than enough for the lines of struggle between management and labor to be sharply drawn, however, especially in Petrograd, and for virtually any understanding among commercial leaders and industrialists of strikes as legitimate forms of protest to disappear.

Thus, on 4 July, the metals branch of the PSFMO issued a blunt circular condemning "anarchy" and insisting that "all promises, written or oral, given to workers under threat or force, are not obligatory for the enterprise."<sup>58</sup> A few days later, the PSFMO ordered its members not to pay workers for time lost during the July demonstrations. At the Trubochnyi plant, the Sestroretsk arms works, and elsewhere, workers were disarmed. At Sestroretsk, the factory committee was arrested. Industrialists from Vasilevskii Island called an urgent meeting and demanded that all workers be disarmed immediately.<sup>59</sup>

Managerial resistance stiffened everywhere. The line between "economic" and "political" became hopelessly blurred as the struggle for power implicit in any strike was writ large into the question of Russia's future state order. Moscow industrialists forbade paid leaves for their employees.<sup>60</sup> In Petrograd, industrialists began to reject individual plant settlements in favor of industry-wide agreements and insisted on negotiating major issues only with trade-union leaders. Workers in Moscow, South Russia, the Urals, and especially the Ukraine found new demands for wages and conditions rudely rejected, while trade and industrial leaders in the capitals pressed for a harder government line. When Kerenskii invited S. N. Tretiakov to take the trade and industry portfolio, the president of the Moscow Stock Exchange and his supporters insisted he could do so only if there were a "radical break" with the past.<sup>61</sup> Partly for this reason, negotiations over a new coalition cabinet took more than three weeks, succeeding only after Kerenskii himself resigned briefly on 21 July, and the moderate Social Democrat S. N. Prokopovich, rather than Tretiakov, agreed to become minister of trade and industry.

The appointment of Prokopovich hardly pleased the industrialists. In Moscow, Iu. P. Guzhon, now president of the MSFMO, gathered his colleagues together to reinforce their efforts at holding the line against further economic and political

<sup>58</sup> *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 1: 526.

<sup>59</sup> M. Bortnik, "Na Trubochnom zavode," in A. Anskii, *Professional'noe dvizhenie*, 273.

<sup>60</sup> "Paid leaves [*otpusky*] for workers should absolutely not be granted; if workers demand such leaves by threatening to strike, and if they actually begin such strikes, under no circumstance should agreements be reached which satisfy these demands or pay workers for their strike time"; *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 1: 527.

<sup>61</sup> See the discussion in V. Ia. Lavrychev, "Vserossiiskii soiuz torgovli i promyshlennosti," *Istoricheskie zapiski*, 70 (1961): 46 and following.



deterioration.<sup>62</sup> The Petrograd SFMO, under A. A. Bachmanov,<sup>63</sup> which now included in its ranks more than 450 enterprises (employing some 270,000 workers) restructured itself along industrial branch lines, to strengthen the ability of management to resist workers and unions.<sup>64</sup> Early in August, leading members of the PSFMO joined with representatives from the Council of Trade and Industry Congresses (Soviet S'ezdov), the Union of Donets Coal Producers, the Ural Metallurgical Industrialists' Association, the Baku Oil group, the All-Russian Sugar Manufacturers' Association, the Association of Private Petrograd Banks, and others, to organize a Union of United Industrial Enterprises "to coordinate actions against the interference of workers in industrial management" and to work for new state regulations and decrees.<sup>65</sup> P. P. Riabushinskii, widely regarded as one of Russia's more moderate and progressive industrial leaders, remarked on 3 August, "We must insist, and this is recognized by all groups on the left, that the present revolution is a bourgeois revolution (voice: 'Correct!'), that a bourgeois order at the current time is inevitable, and since inevitable, should lead to a completely logical conclusion: those persons who rule the country ought to think and act in a bourgeois manner."<sup>66</sup>

How all of this affected the strike movement, and how, in turn, strikes themselves affected labor-management relations in this period can readily be seen. The summer cluster of strikes represented a much smaller peak than either the spring or fall clusters but involved more than 370,000 strikers in just twenty-nine days, a far higher proportion than in the spring.<sup>67</sup> These strikes were clearly larger than those earlier, they occurred in larger plants on average, and they exemplified a spread of strikes from single-plant stoppages to more widely coordinated actions. In the country as a whole, strikes were concentrated among industrial workers; the number of service workers on strike declined.<sup>68</sup> Most important, the success rate for strikes fell notably. So did the frequency of negotiated settlements, especially in Moscow and Petrograd, despite the fact that the Provisional Government issued new legislation on conciliation boards in early August, urging them "to prevent and settle disputes between workers and administrations of industrial enterprises."<sup>69</sup> Only one-third of the strikes for which we have data on outcomes ended in victory in these weeks. The workers lost 17 percent, compared to a failure rate of only 3

<sup>62</sup> *Promyshlennost' i torgovlia*, 28–29 (1917). The MSFMO executive committee now included V. I. Arandarenko, K. M. Zhemochkin, K. A. Malakhovskii, Iu. I. Poplavskii, N. V. Nabgol'ts, N. M. Mikhailov, V. V. Popov, and L. A. Rabenek, in addition to Guzhon.

<sup>63</sup> Bachmanov was a leading figure in the G. A. Lessner complex and director of "Old Lessner."

<sup>64</sup> See T. Shatilova, "Petrogradskoe obshchestvo zavodchikov i fabrikantov v bor'be s rabochim dvizheniem v 1917 g.," in A. Anskii, *Professional'noe dvizhenie*, 103. These new branch organizations were in addition to eight existing city district sub-organizations.

<sup>65</sup> Others included representatives from the metalworking, timber, paper, and private railroad associations, and a number of local SFMOs, including the PSFMO. *Promyshlennost' i torgovlia*, 28–29 (1917).

<sup>66</sup> *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 1: 200–01. See also the discussion in William G. Rosenberg, *Liberals in the Russian Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1974), 205–12.

<sup>67</sup> Some 108 strikes began in this period of relatively intensive strike activity.

<sup>68</sup> Koenker and Rosenberg, "Strikes in Revolution, Russia, 1917."

<sup>69</sup> *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 1: 551–52; Browder and Kerensky, *Russian Provisional Government*, 2: 742–43.

percent in the spring. Responsibility for the increased failure rate belonged to management, not labor. We have no cases at all for these weeks in which workers refused to enter into negotiations when requested to do so by management.

Strong anti-labor attitudes emerged in a wide variety of disputes. Owners of restaurants and taverns in Petrograd reneged on concessions they had offered strikers in early July, refusing to include tip income in waiters' salaries (an important "dignity" issue), ignoring provisions establishing an eight-hour day, and hiring minors at extended hours to replace professionals who complained.<sup>70</sup> Leather manufacturers in Moscow refused to accept a compromise settlement proposed by the minister of labor after three weeks of negotiations failed to avert a strike, despite terms that guaranteed to plant administrators sole responsibility for hiring and firing. Workers were at their benches expecting to resume work when the word came of the owners' refusal.<sup>71</sup> Owners of woodworking plants in Petrograd, Moscow coopers, and owners of Petrograd printshops similarly took a harder line. In the case of the coopers, the owners rejected the union's demand for a minimum wage of thirteen rubles a day and offered instead a scale running from eight to twelve, apparently telling workers in the process that their union was pitiful and hardly worth their time.<sup>72</sup> The association of printshop owners went so far as to issue a warning that, if workers dared to strike in response to the owners' categorical refusal to make a new agreement effective as of 1 August, all negotiations would end.<sup>73</sup> On 22 July, an important conference of Petrograd metal union delegates deplored the "aggressive" posture of the employers' association and expressed its feeling that a peaceful agreement with the PSFMO was impossible.<sup>74</sup> Sentiments elsewhere were much the same.<sup>75</sup>

In short, service and industrial workers in Petrograd and Moscow found themselves suddenly on the defensive in the aftermath of the July Days debacle, struggling not only against aggressive management but against the further deterioration of the economy as well, which greatly increased the risk to workers from strikes. The threat of unemployment was growing. Early gains from the

<sup>70</sup> *Rabochaia gazeta*, 1 August 1917.

<sup>71</sup> *Golos kozhevnik*, 4–5 (1917). The Likino textile manufacturing complex near Moscow shut down on 1 August despite a report by the Moscow industrialists' association that there was sufficient fuel and material to keep the plant in operation. Instead, "decisive measures" were called for against workers who, by September, were protesting by threatening to arrest the plant administration. *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 1: 454–55.

<sup>72</sup> *Rabochaia gazeta*, 12 July 1917.

<sup>73</sup> *Delo naroda*, 14 August 1917.

<sup>74</sup> *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 1: 528.

<sup>75</sup> For example, Singer sewing machine workers striking at plants and retail stores throughout Russia found themselves locked out after they agreed to a settlement proposed by the ministry of labor, which entered the dispute because of Russia's "critical political circumstances." The management insisted on the end of interference by local committees of any sort in enterprise affairs, something neither workers nor the government itself could guarantee. See *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 1: 460–65; A. M. Lisetskii, *Bol'sheviki vo glave massovykh stachek* (Kishinev, 1974), 214–16; and *Russkaia volia*, 21 September 1917. There is some evidence that the order to close Singer came from New York.

In Baku, almost four months of negotiations over a new collective wage agreement for oil workers were interrupted twice by industrialists resisting proposed increases, and, when an agreement was reached at the bargaining table, individual enterprises refused to accept it. Anxious local soviet leaders asked the ministry of labor to intervene, and, on 31 July, Skobelev went to Baku to see if he could secure an agreement. *Rabochaia gazeta*, 4 August 1917.

strike movement were being eroded. Many owners seemed to be seeking excuses to shut down, at least temporarily. Some virtually dared their employees to walk out. Managers like those of the Vulkan machine construction plant seemed to take pleasure in announcing they were “forced” to cut in half the wages of factory committee members and those elected to other representative organs.<sup>76</sup> The options for workers were rapidly narrowing, particularly in large industrial plants of the two capitals and their surrounding areas.

One might expect in these circumstances that forms of direct action against employers other than strikes would become increasingly attractive, especially in Moscow and Petrograd. Our evidence suggests, however, that other types of direct action declined in the factories after the July Days, most dramatically in August, in contrast to strikes. Our data are not comprehensive, and it must be stressed again that many factory-based incidents went unreported. But there is little basis for thinking the frequency of press reports was now any less than in the spring and good reason to suspect it was higher, especially in newspapers concerned about the deteriorating political and economic conditions. In any event, the published record suggests that direct actions within enterprises in August fell substantially compared to July, and even more so in comparison to April and May.

Several reasons for this apparent decline suggest themselves when we examine factory-based protests more closely. Workers seem to have been just as cautious about engaging in actions that could result in production cutbacks as they were about strikes, since “illegal” acts provided owners with an even better excuse for shutting their doors than did strikes. Such actions as were reported seem instead to have been directed more toward maintaining production than settling grievances; indeed, the incremental expansion of areas of worker control in production during this period was largely motivated by this same goal.<sup>77</sup> In particular, workers now moved much more cautiously against plant foremen, supervisors, and salaried administrative personnel whose departure might have threatened their own work. Expulsions of unpopular administrators practically ceased. We have found only one case of wheelbarrowing reported in the press for all of July and August (at the Sampsonievskaiia textile mills in Petrograd on 6 July). We find indications instead that a shift occurred in the objects of factory-based protest during these weeks, a shift that may have been even more extensive than the data indicate and certainly more important. When workers engaged in direct action in mid-summer, they commonly confronted plant owners or top management rather than foremen or lower-level managerial personnel, turning their attention in this way to the pinnacle of Russia’s new socioeconomic order.<sup>78</sup> The majority of these and other protests occurred in those plants with the greatest management-labor tension in

<sup>76</sup> Z. V. Stepanov, *Rabochie Petrograda v period podgotovki i provedeniia oktiabr'skogo vooruzhennogo vosstaniia* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1965), 151.

<sup>77</sup> Smith, *Red Petrograd*, chap. 7.

<sup>78</sup> In March and April, we define some 20 percent of factory-based non-strike protests as directed against plant owners or top management. In May and June, this figure increases to 43 percent and in July and August, to almost 47 percent. Even allowing for reporting biases and other inaccuracies of the data, both the prevailing trend and the magnitude of the July–August increase seem clear.

July and August: the metal-fabricating shops and machine works of Petrograd and Moscow.<sup>79</sup>

In contrast, collective actions outside the factories, on the streets, in apartment buildings, food stores, and public places, seem to have increased during these weeks, at least in relative terms. Whereas reported factory protests outnumbered street actions before August (if we exclude incidents associated with the July Days), almost four times as many street actions were reported in the first three weeks of August as factory-based, non-strike actions. In street actions, too, one can perceive a shift in focus of some importance. During May and June, as we have seen, crowds commonly turned on thieves and burglars, often beating them unmercifully. Reports of attacks of this sort continued after the July Days but were far less frequent (bearing in mind that this decrease may have been caused by the process of reporting). But, at the same time, we do find a substantial increase in reported food riots, attacks on hoarders, searches for food and other goods, and similar acts of protest against deteriorating material conditions, giving evidence that a significant shift in the arena of labor protest was indeed occurring.

In Moscow, late in August, for example, a reduction in the daily bread ration to one-half pound (*funt*) per person appeared to touch off a series of street actions, some of which resembled, in their orderliness and deference to institutions, the *taxation populaire* of eighteenth-century France. On 26 August, the newspaper *Russkoe slovo* reported a crowd in the central Kitaigorod district demanding that authorities search the house of a person suspected of hoarding; in another part of the city, a crowd examined loaded carts passing through the neighborhood, presumably for illicit transport of rationed goods. Still others searched a house for supplies of sugar and coffee; no sugar was found, but a large supply of coffee was seized and turned over to the neighborhood food supply committee. Elsewhere, sugar was found hidden in warehouse; the 244 recovered bags were sealed and turned over to the authorities.<sup>80</sup> In other parts of the city, crowds were angrier. A riot in the suburban district of Alekseevskii ended with women threatening to beat officials from the local commissariat and the neighborhood's food supply section for failing to provide bread; on the same day came reports of the ransacking of a meat store.<sup>81</sup> The majority of riots focused on empty food shops, but militia and public officials who failed to provide for their constituents also incurred the crowd's wrath: when the Skorokhod outlet store in Moscow ran out of shoes on the evening of 5 September, a crowd gathered to protest, and agitators were heard to denounce the regime (*vlast'*).<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Thus workers at the Brenner machine works seized the plant in late July to prevent owners from closing it and putting it up for sale, trade-union activists took over the closed Ludwig Marx metals plant in Moscow, and factory committees at Shchetinin in Petrograd and the A. V. Bari boiler works in Moscow, among others, assumed proprietorial as opposed to merely administrative responsibility for contracting the purchase of raw materials. Workers from the unfinished Moscow automotive works even sued the owners in court in an effort to keep the plant open.

<sup>80</sup> *Russkoe slovo*, 26 August 1917.

<sup>81</sup> *Russkoe slovo*, 2 September 1917.

<sup>82</sup> *Trudovaia kopeika*, 6 September 1917.

It is impossible to determine whether (or how) these protests were related to the decreasing number of opportunities open to workers to secure gains in the workplace, or whether they were sparked merely by the absence of food. The inability of the regime to correct matters hardly raised hopes for improvement, likewise the ineffective, month-long debate over problems of food supply by the Moscow Soviet. In any case, the patterns of protest were the logical consequence of narrowing legal recourse, a sign of the rapidly diminishing appeal of “bourgeois-democratic” values. The weeks of August saw the expansion of the arena of protest from the factory to the community, from workers to entire families, and, in all likelihood, from men to both men and women. During August, workers increasingly went into the streets to secure their needs, rather than using “legitimate” means of protest, including strikes. This late summer period marked the emergence of state and soviet authorities, and the state itself, over managers and enterprises as the targets of protest, even in incidents that were not overtly political. As conflict over issues that were ordinarily part of “routine” labor protests (wages, rations, housing, unemployment rights) spilled into the streets, the expansion of protest reflected not only the political mobilization of broader segments of the laboring population but also the end of any shared assumptions there might have been about the authority and legitimacy of Russia’s prevailing order.

THE ESCALATION OF SOCIAL CONFLICT IN THE AFTERMATH of the Kornilov mutiny in late August is well known.<sup>83</sup> So, too, are the transparent weaknesses the mutiny revealed in both army and state, the fundamental structures of “bourgeois-democratic” political control. For tens of thousands of industrial workers in Petrograd, General Kornilov’s attempted march on the capital was rightly understood as a frontal attack on their opportunities for freedom and welfare, even if, in the eyes of many labor leaders themselves, the line between “freedom” and “industrial anarchy” was increasingly blurred. Outlawing strikes was reported to be an essential part of Kornilov’s program.<sup>84</sup> “Restoring order” in the capital surely meant repression. No episode of the entire revolutionary period, in fact, did more to develop popular political consciousness or turn rank-and-file workers in favor of a radical socialist state.

At the same time, the ignominious collapse of the uprising and the humiliating defeat of right-wing Russia’s man on a white horse left his supporters in the Petrograd and Moscow industrial community anxious and exposed. It was now most unlikely that real benefits could come from the efforts of Riabushinskii and others to defend “bourgeois” interests by strengthening their political ties with non-socialist parties. Many suspected the worst: that any efforts in this direction

<sup>83</sup> See, for instance, the discussions in Koenker, *Moscow Workers and the 1917 Revolution*, chap. 3, Rosenberg, *Liberals in the Russian Revolution*, chap. 7.

<sup>84</sup> A. Il’in-Zhenevskii, “Neudavshiiia Bonapart,” *Miatezh Kornilova: Iz belykh memuarov* (Leningrad, 1928), 11; P. N. Miliukov, *Istoriia vtoroi russkoi revoliutsii*, 1, vyp. 2 (Sofia, 1921), 120; A. M. Lisetskii, “Ob otnoshenii bloka kontrrevoliutsionnykh sil k zabastovochnomu dvizheniiu proletariata Rossii (mart-oktiabr’ 1917 g.),” *Uchenye zapiski Kishinevskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, 95 (1968): 7.



would prove futile. "Life presses us closer to politics," Bachmanov, president of the PSFMO council, told his colleagues on 5 September, but there was no longer any means to realize effectively "the wishes and needs of the industrial class."<sup>85</sup> With the German offensive against Riga, Russia's rapidly deteriorating economy, the initiation of contingency plans to evacuate major Petrograd plants, and the collapse once again of the governing coalition, tensions increased between peasants and landlords in the countryside, between radicals and moderates in the meeting chambers of local dumas and soviets, and particularly between the "rulers" and the "ruled" in the factories. Literally and figuratively, the building of barricades had begun.

A pervasive uncertainty about the future affected men and women worried that their factory gates would be locked as much as it did industrialists, merchants, and bankers eager to salvage their investments. By the end of the summer, production, even in favored defense industries, had fallen drastically, in some cases, to as little as 60 percent of February levels. Supply shortages in textiles were relieved by the annual industry holiday, which came in August, but reserves of food, fuel, and other essential goods remained precarious in Petrograd and Moscow, and no one thought the situation would soon improve. According to a report to the Special Council on Transport early in August, goods shipments on the railroads were off by more than 244,000 cars in July compared to the same period in 1916; more than 25 percent of the country's locomotives were out of service, with some 5,180 "undergoing repair," 1,705 more in July than in 1916. In Moscow, which was somewhat better supplied than Petrograd, food prices increased on the average more than 20 percent between August and September and were up 62 percent from May. The jump in Petrograd was more abrupt.<sup>86</sup> The vital aspect of this deepening crisis, moreover, lay not so much in its objective indexes but in the growing conviction of ordinary workers that deprivation was not shared by all. In many places, workers no longer simply demanded food and fuel, they demanded that luxury restaurants and cinemas be closed. As General Kornilov insisted on the death penalty for deserters, workers called angrily for harsh punishments for speculators and hoarders. Popular rage over the gap between privilege and need may have been growing even more rapidly than the gap itself.

In these circumstances, the strike movement underwent a remarkable change. While strikes again increased across the country in mid-September, their greater frequency was less significant than the fact that workers were now striking in unfavorable economic circumstances and, more important, doing so in enormous numbers. By our estimates, more than 1.2 million workers began strikes between mid-September and the October revolution (including some 700,000 railroad workers who struck between 24 and 26 September); 200,000 to 300,000 workers

<sup>85</sup> *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 1: 205

<sup>86</sup> *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie*, 2: 74–79, 90, 244–46, 163; *Statistika truda*, 1 (1918): 10–11. See the discussion in Smith, *Red Petrograd*, 168–71; Stepanov, *Rabochie Petrograda*, 142–44, 182–206; and Koenker, *Moscow Workers in the 1917 Revolution*, 251–52.

remained on the streets in strikes begun in August and earlier.<sup>87</sup> The magnitude of the fall cluster of strikes measured in numbers of strikers was ample testimony to the determination of workers everywhere to effect a radical change in industrial relations. Few could fail to perceive it.

Industrialists, manufacturers, even restaurant owners and those of other service establishments dug their heels in further against this pressure. Strikes resulted in fewer outright victories for workers in the two capitals in October than for any other month of the year. For the first time, we see numbers of workers striking primarily to force management to the bargaining table, something that had rarely happened earlier. The decline in successful wage strikes was especially sharp.<sup>88</sup> Still, the number of strikers escalated at an almost geometrical rate, as if workers refused to be restrained any longer by practical considerations.

It is difficult to measure whether the increase in worker actions after the Kornilov mutiny was the cause or consequence of the unyielding attitudes of employers, but, in both cases, the change from August was considerable, especially in Moscow and Petrograd. The evidence suggests that, by early October, workers' non-strike actions had shifted back into the factories and were increasingly violent toward factory owners and managerial personnel alike. At the Okhta munitions works, for example, one of the largest plants in Petrograd, workers "arrested" the head of the factory and subjected administration officials to an abusive search.<sup>89</sup> At the Peter the Great arsenal, workers forceably blocked the evacuation of equipment, temporarily seizing this important arms works.<sup>90</sup> Some sixty armed Skorokhod leather plant workers arrested their board of directors on 16 September to secure wage increases.<sup>91</sup> Women chemical workers resorted again to the wheelbarrow in an attempt to expel the director of Moscow's Vtorov chemical factory.<sup>92</sup> Woodworkers at the Markov plant reported to their district soviet that they were blocking the sale of lumber from the plant because they feared management was preparing to lock them out.<sup>93</sup> At Putilov, the Nevskii shoe works, and scores of other plants in Russia's two capitals, workers' committees inventoried supplies, demanded access to factory accounts, organized or extended factory-based Red Guard organizations, and, with a greater or lesser degree of political consciousness, strengthened the social basis on which the Bolsheviks would soon take power.

<sup>87</sup> These figures, moreover, are clearly low, based on estimates of strikers for only 68 percent of the strikes we know occurred between 16 September and 25 October. We lack adequate employment records to construct good estimates for the remaining 32 percent (sixty-one strikes).

<sup>88</sup> Frequencies are low, but our data suggest that approximately 33 percent of all wage strikes were won in October versus some 45 percent in September and in August. A dramatic decline also occurred in management's willingness to compromise on wages elsewhere after the Kornilov mutiny, although this decline still led more frequently to a favorable outcome for workers outside the capitals in September and October.

<sup>89</sup> *Khronika*, 3 (Moscow, 1960), 486.

<sup>90</sup> *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Rossii v sentiabre 1917 g.* (Moscow, 1961), 302.

<sup>91</sup> *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Rossii v sentiabre 1917 g.*, 380–81.

<sup>92</sup> *Sotsial-Demokrat*, 28 September 1917.

<sup>93</sup> *Raionnye sovety Petrograda v 1917 g.*, 3 vols. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1966), 2: 121.

An increase in the number of reports of factory-based actions in the weeks immediately preceding October was also accompanied by a decline in reports of street actions. Again, this shift could reflect a bias in the reporting, but the changing nature of lynch-law actions in this period suggests otherwise. Reports of attacks on burglars and thieves by angry crowds are almost gone. There is certainly no prevalent wave of anger or intolerance for thievery after the Kornilov affair, in sharp contrast to the spring. Instead, reports of street actions in the capitals concern food shortages and intolerance of officialdom, threats to lynch city officials responsible for food distribution, looting and seizing food stores, or searching and looting shops in which food caches were suspected to be hidden—as if the crowd had abandoned any attempt to forge a civil society in common with other social elements.

The available reports indicate that factory-based actions in September and October continued to be concentrated in the metal plants, despite the existence of a collective wage agreement for both Moscow and Petrograd.<sup>94</sup> The largest number of incidents in other plants occurred in the strife-torn leather trades, caught in the midst of one of the period's longest and most contentious strikes. The labor "peace" secured through collective wage agreements was no longer a substantial basis for social order in the business enterprises of the capitals.

Finally, more job actions that previously would have occurred without the cessation of work seem, in these last weeks before October, to have been directly connected to strikes. Even a strike was no longer sufficient for workers to achieve their goals and, indeed, may have played into the hands of plant owners seeking acceptable grounds to halt production. Correspondingly, this shift suggests the rejection of economically "benign" acts of protest, such as evicting a rate setter while maintaining production. In other words, a merger appears to have been taking place by September and October of previously separate forms of protest, a sign of the narrowing options for workers in their efforts to define the extent of their new freedoms. We must re-emphasize that our data are not quantitatively systematic or complete, and that our perceptions of changes in this regard may stem from biases in the evidence. Nonetheless, the magnitude of the change is startling. Fully 75 percent of the attacks on managerial personnel, the seizure of factories, the blockage of goods shipments, and other workers' actions that were reported in connection with strikes during 1917 occurred between 1 September and 25 October.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Some 60 percent of all reported factory-based actions were linked to metal plants in September and October, compared to approximately 45 percent in July and August. Because of the army's collapse, however, workers in defense-related production may have received disproportionate attention from newspapers and others providing evidence of these events.

<sup>95</sup> Thus, when the management of the Nevskii mechanical shoe factory attempted to evacuate equipment in early September, angry workers placed a guard at the factory gates to block the move and ordered that nothing be taken from the plant without a pass from the factory committee. Management responded by attempting to withhold the wages of committee members on the grounds that they were not engaged in productive work. This action led to a strike involving violence and threats of violence against administrative personnel. In response, the plant was formally closed, leading workers on 4 October to plan to seize it by force in an effort to restart production, and provoking an appeal for troops from Tretiakov, chairman of the Main Economic Committee, to the commander of

This connection reaffirms the changing character of strikes as an integral part of “conventional” management-labor relations on the eve of October. The change was occurring in ways that dramatically affected the mentalities of labor and management both, at least in Petrograd and Moscow. Although factory workers and commercial employees were better able to mobilize in September and October than in the spring, using their own committees and trade unions, and while Bolsheviks and others provided additional resources, economic conditions no longer favored the use of strikes as primary weapons in labor-management relations. Strikes shifted in the fall from a type of labor protest that formally respected the basic prerogatives of management in a “bourgeois-democratic” system (such as plant ownership and the inviolability of person), and that could be contrasted in this regard to the “informality” of street actions (which followed a different logic), to a form that was increasingly desperate, bitter, and violent. Even though workers may have understood that strikes were becoming ineffective as a means to achieve economic gains from their employers, they often struck anyway, shedding economic constraints with a sense of resignation about the outcome.<sup>96</sup>

In the process, strikes, like street actions, challenged the premises on which urban social relations had been structured since February. By October, strikes had evolved from a means of resolving labor-management conflict within formal “bourgeois-democratic” structures to a means for expressing a profound alienation from that order, a transformation both reflecting and defining the process of urban social polarization. From early April, government officials and moderate socialists alike had attempted to impose limits on the range of strikes and demonstrations. They sought to constrain “formal” protest within boundaries defined by judgments about what was economically feasible and what was

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the Petrograd military district. See *Rabochii put'*, 10 September 1917; *Khronika*, 4 (Moscow, 1961), 255; *Torgovo-Promyshlennaiia gazeta*, 3 October 1917; *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Rossii nakanune oktiabr'skogo vooruzhennogo vosstaniia (1–24 oktiabria 1917 goda)*, (Moscow, 1962), 251. Similarly, striking workers at the Kibbel' printing works, the Krel paper works, and the Benno-Rontaller button factory only returned to work in late September and early October after their factory committees had seized the plants. At Benno-Rontaller, workers seized the factory when management refused to implement a collective wage agreement that had been negotiated for nine such factories, demanding the matter be referred once more to a conciliation commission. Workers refused with little hesitation and simply took over. Reports are in *Russkie vedomosti*, 15 October 1917; *Izvestiia*, 15 October 1917. See also *Khronika*, 4 (Moscow, 1961), 62; and *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Rossii v sentiabre v 1917 g.*, 326.

<sup>96</sup> Examples abound. Striking paper workers on 20 September left their jobs with the greatest reluctance, recognizing that “any strike” in Russia's current circumstances was a “sharp blow to the whole social organism.” Their view was broadly shared: among railroad workers, who initiated a nationwide stoppage on 24 September, among metalists and leather workers, among the tens of thousands of textile workers who came to believe in early October that the course of events had left them no alternative; *Rabochaia gazeta*, 20 September 1917. Under pressure from the government, the paper workers agreed to provide the necessary paper for Constituent Assembly ballots despite their strike. At the important Aivaz machine works in Petrograd, workers turned on the engineer, Abrabanskii, in October when he “rudely” refused to take back a woman worker who had been sick for ten days, wheelbarrowing him out the gate after a severe beating and dumping him in the dirt. Other engineers and foremen quit their posts in protest, leaving workers free to seize the plant despite the pleas of many urging restraint. See *Rabochaia gazeta*, 24 October 1917. When pharmacy workers struck in Petrograd in mid-October, the city дума demanded the regime empower municipal authorities to seize the shops and use the militia to assure their operation. In reaction, the Rozhdestvenskoi district soviet and others dispatched Red Guards to the shops, prepared, if necessary, for civil war, if that was needed to protect the rights of strikers; *Den'*, 13 October 1917.

considered necessary to meet the country's basic goals: defense against the Germans (if not outright military victory), social stability, economic and social justice, and the orderly creation of democratic political institutions and a rule of law. Even stronger limits had emerged, however, from the impersonal forces of the market and the conscious and collective decisions by organized management to resist any expansion of the rights of workers in the workplace.

In these circumstances, Russia's weak governmental administration, trying to construct its own feeble version of democratic order in 1917, was no match for either militant industrialists or militant labor. By the fall, strikes and other forms of protest customary in Western democracies, while still legal, were neither effective means of achieving workers' goals nor, in the opinion of established authorities, acceptable as "legitimate" forms of protest. The struggle was no longer over wages or material conditions but, in the words of Lenin, over who would control whom ("kto kogo"). As a result, strikes, other factory-based actions, and street actions came largely to symbolize the rejection of bourgeois values and the conventional processes of resolving labor-management conflicts in Western bourgeois societies, as well as the value system on which government and soviet leaders were attempting to construct Russia's new order. For both management and labor, collective actions exemplified instead the polarization of urban society and the developing tensions, mentalities, and violence of civil war.



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# The Politics of Reproduction: Medieval Norwegian Kingship

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THE DOMINANT ROLE ATTRIBUTED TO THE MALE IN HUMAN REPRODUCTION may be the strongest and most startling illustration of patriarchy. For more than two millennia, Western thinkers, firmly rooted in biblical and Aristotelian concepts, depicted the female as a mere receptacle into which the male planted his seed. The mother produced the body, the father the soul, of a new human being.<sup>1</sup> As a consequence, even in reproduction, in which the dramatic focal point might have been the woman giving birth, historians have centered on the man's role. From the fourth century, when Jerome translated Eusebius's world chronicle, and throughout the medieval period, universal history was framed in genealogical lists taken from the Bible. Demonstrating paternal succession, these lists monotonously repeat that father engendered (*genuit*) son.<sup>2</sup> Only rarely do the names of women appear among a man's several sexual companions, usually as signposts to straighten and simplify the path of descent.<sup>3</sup> The names of women occasionally appear in order to highlight the prestige brought to a man and his descendants when he acquired a wife from a higher social level than his own.<sup>4</sup> But, more often,

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<sup>1</sup> Susan Moller Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought* (Princeton, N.J., 1979), 15–96; Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York, 1986), 161–211.

<sup>2</sup> Howard Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1983), 37. On biblical genealogies, see Robert R. Wilson, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven, Conn., 1977).

<sup>3</sup> Concerning the four women in the genealogy of Jesus in Matthew 1, see Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus* (Cambridge, 1969), 139–228; and Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (New York, 1977), 57–95.

<sup>4</sup> This is often the case in genealogies found among Icelandic farmers, but naturally it is rarely seen at the uppermost reaches of society. A further explanation may be a previously universal, but still lingering, tradition of female hypergyny that would make it impossible for women at the highest socioeconomic levels to marry at all, encouraging female infanticide among these classes, as in India in the nineteenth century; see Mildred Dickermann, "Female Infanticide, Reproductive Strategies, and Social Stratification: A Preliminary Model," *Evolutionary Biology and Human Social Behavior: An Anthropological Perspective*, Napoleon A. Chagnon, ed. (Belmont, Calif., 1979), 321–67. Among the Nuer, new branches could be grafted onto an agnatic genealogical tree through a female link. See E. P. Evans-Pritchard, "Kinship and the Local Community among the Nuer," in *African Systems of*

medieval genealogical lists, records of royal succession, stretch back like endless chains from the current king through his *forefathers*, sometimes connecting him to epic heroes or pagan gods in the distant past, who, in turn, could be grafted onto the biblical genealogies.<sup>5</sup> In art, this male connection was expressed in the Tree of Jesse, in which the progenitor, Jesse, lies supine like a woman after childbirth but dreams about his male descendants emerging from his body as from a huge phallic trunk.<sup>6</sup>

Because writers and artists formed their procreative illustrations under the influence of biblical or Aristotelian patriarchy and biology, it is not surprising that they neglected the female role in reproduction. Not until the seventeenth century did biologists acknowledge the female contribution to procreation. Since then, Western thinkers have increasingly accepted the equal share of male and female in conceiving a child, the exclusive function of the woman in pregnancy and birth, and her crucial role during the first few years of a child's life.<sup>7</sup> It would therefore seem appropriate to complement these male genealogies with information drawn from other sources and provide a fuller and more accurate picture of the politics of human reproduction.

During the High Middle Ages, after monogamy and the indissolubility of marriage had become established practice, the fertility of a single couple determined the royal succession, just as the rule of primogeniture secured that couple's oldest son as future king. It can be argued that, in the normal course of events, royal reproduction is of little interest to historians beyond the fact that it occurred, because the agents, the king and his wife, are well known, and, in most circumstances, could produce a sufficient number of children for succession to proceed smoothly. During the Early Middle Ages, however, a king was free to associate sexually with women to whom he was not wed and even with women not known to his entourage. Reigns were often short and violent because a king could have as many related competitors as his father had produced offspring. Sometimes, several contenders for the throne could be accommodated by joint rule, or

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*Kinship and Marriage*, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, ed. (London, 1950), 360–91; and Kathleen Gough, "Nuer Kinship: A Re-examination," in *The Translation of Culture*, T. O. Beidelman, ed. (London, 1971), 79–121.

<sup>5</sup> For the Anglo-Saxon genealogies, see William A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Berkeley, Calif., 1970), 7–42; Kenneth Sisam, "Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 39 (1953): 287–346; and Hermann Moisl, "Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies and Germanic Oral Tradition," *Journal of Medieval History*, 7 (1981): 215–48. On Scandinavian genealogy, see Anthony Faulkes, "Descent from the Gods," *Mediaeval Scandinavia*, 11 (1978–79): 92–125. The subject of the divine or sacral origin of Germanic kingship is controversial; for an overview of the current literature, see R. W. McTurk, "Sacral Kingship in Ancient Scandinavia: A Review of Some Recent Writings," *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, 19 (1975–76): 139–69. Most important is Walter Baetke, *Yngvi und die Ynglingar: Eine Quellenkritische Untersuchung über das nordische "Sakralkönigtum,"* Sitzungsberichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil. hist. Klasse 109.3 (1964). For a recent treatment, see Lars Lönnroth, "Dómaldi's Death and the Myth of Sacral Kingship," *Structure and Meaning in Old Norse Literature*, John Lindow, et al., eds. (Odense, 1986), 73–93.

<sup>6</sup> See A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London, 1934); and Gerhard Ladner, "Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism: A Comparison," *Speculum*, 54 (1979): 223–56.

<sup>7</sup> Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco, 1980), 149–63. Maryanne Cline Horowitz, "The 'Science' of Embryology before the Discovery of the Ovum," *Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present*, Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert, eds. (New York, 1987), 86–94.

fissiparism. In circumstances such as these, the politics of royal reproduction is of greater interest, and it is important to restore to the picture the missing reproductive half, the women.<sup>8</sup> By exploiting their reproductive capabilities and promoting their offspring after the death of their lovers or husbands, medieval women were often instrumental in shaping royal succession.

BEFORE THE ACCEPTANCE OF MONOGAMY, UNIFIED RULE, LEGITIMACY, AND primogeniture, kingships were characterized by polygamy (or, at least, polycoity) and divided or joint rule, with many heirs who had an equal right to succession. The shift from the older to the newer system in Northern Europe reflected the changed sexual and marital policy among Germanic kings that the church was instrumental in bringing about. Anthropologists argue that the original state of human sexual relations was polygyny, and that monogamy is a later development first found on the Eurasian continent. True polygyny, plural wives with similar rights, now exists only in Africa.<sup>9</sup> But, if we accept Lucy Mair's definition of marriage as "a union which confers status and/or inheritance rights on the children who issue from it," rewriting "confers" to "could confer," there is no question about the existence of polygyny among the early Germans.<sup>10</sup> According to Tacitus, Germanic leaders accepted several wives, and true polygyny persisted for a long time among the Irish aristocracy.<sup>11</sup> All Germanic monarchies went through the earlier stage of polygyny.

The narrative account of Gregory of Tours shows conclusively that, when kingship emerged among the Franks, the Merovingian kings were polygynous. In spite of churchmen's fulminations, early Frankish kings not only had plural wives but were also involved sexually with a number of concubines.<sup>12</sup> Numerous offspring made it possible for the Merovingians to sustain a biological, if not a political, presence among the Franks from the late fifth to the middle of the eighth century.<sup>13</sup> If fit in mind and body (*idoneus*), any male offspring of a king had a chance at the succession, regardless of his mother's marital or social status.<sup>14</sup> A

<sup>8</sup> This has been done for the Franks, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Saxons by Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister 500 to 900* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1981); Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Athens, Ga., 1983); and K. J. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (Bloomington, Ind., 1979).

<sup>9</sup> Jack Goody, "Concubines and Co-wives: The Structure of Roles in Africa and Asia," in *Production and Reproduction*, Jack Goody, ed. (Cambridge, 1976), 41–65.

<sup>10</sup> Lucy Mair, *Marriage* (Harmondsworth, Sussex, 1971), 143.

<sup>11</sup> *Die Germania des Tacitus*, Rudolf Much, ed. (Heidelberg, 1937), chap. 18; David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 38–43.

<sup>12</sup> Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, Lewis Thorpe, trans. (Harmondsworth, Sussex, 1974); Reinhard Schneider, *Königswahl und Königserhebung im Frühmittelalter: Untersuchungen zur Herrschaftsnachfolge bei den Langobarden und Merovingern* (Stuttgart, 1972). Edvard Hubrich, "Fränkisches Wahl- und Erbkönigtum zur Merovinger Zeit" (dissertation, Königsberg, 1889; rpt. in Edvard Hlawitschka, ed., *Königswahl und Thronfolge in Ottonisch-Frühdeutschen Zeit* [Darmstadt, 1971], 417–508), is still useful.

<sup>13</sup> The difference between the Merovingians and the Langobardians in this respect is striking. The latter had far less biological luck than the former, mainly because they heeded the church's admonition of monogamy. As a consequence, the Langobardians underwent constant dynastic changes. See Schneider, *Königswahl*, 2–63, 241–61.

<sup>14</sup> See Gregory of Tours' famous statement, *History of the Franks*, 5.20. It is impossible to find any system in the process of selection. Schneider, *Königswahl*, 251, rightly points to the power a candidate was able to amass.

large number of offspring undoubtedly aided the Merovingians in the first turbulent decades of their history. After Clovis had created the united Frankish monarchy, many candidates for succession perished in fratricidal wars, while others were accommodated by the division of the monarchy that became the hallmark of Merovingian rule. By the beginning of the seventh century, churchmen demanded that the contenders should be born in legitimate marriages. When Queen Brunhilde presented the four illegitimate sons of her grandson Theuderic II to the Irish monk Columban, he refused to bless them, protesting that they could never become kings because they had been born in adultery.<sup>15</sup>

Among the Carolingians, marriage played a larger role in the politics of reproduction than it had during the earlier dynasty. Instead of polygyny, Carolingian kings practiced serial monogamy, facilitated by easy divorce and combined with extramarital sexual activities. Of course, this system provided as many pretenders as the polygynous pattern of the Merovingians, but now a tendency emerged to sift the candidates through the screen of legitimacy. In 741, Charles Martel divided his realm between his two legitimate sons, disregarding four others born to concubines.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, Charlemagne excluded his illegitimate sons from the succession arrangements on several occasions. Although, in principle, illegitimacy did not yet present an insurmountable obstacle to succession, it required a special act from the king, confirmed by the leaders of the country.<sup>17</sup> Division of the kingdom still occurred, but the segments were distributed only among legitimate sons, each of whom could claim an equal right to succeed.

With the bifurcation of the Carolingian empire into *Gallia-Francia* and *Germania*, new succession practices appeared. The Merovingians had operated as a *Sippe*, or clan, incorporating any offspring of male leaders, while the Carolingians began to limit their *Sippe* to legitimate heirs. With the Saxons, who replaced the Carolingians in the eastern part of the empire, the *Sippe* was limited to a dynasty, or *Geschlecht*, for the first time. In 929, Henry I, the first of the new Saxon line, designated his oldest legitimate son, Otto I, as heir, bypassing an older, illegitimate son. At the same time, he gave Otto's younger, legitimate brother Bruno (age four) to the church in Utrecht. The adult Bruno became archbishop of Cologne and was thus removed from consideration.<sup>18</sup> Although Henry I's decision caused rebellion

<sup>15</sup> *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, ed. (London, 1960), chap. 36. Earlier, Brunhilde had prejudiced the children's father against another of her grandsons, Theudebert II, by saying that he (Theudebert) was not his (Theuderic's) brother but the gardener's son born to his father's mistress (chap. 27). Brunhilde only attacks paternity and not legitimacy; see Stafford, *Queens*, 66–69. Brunhilde's stormy life is treated by Janet L. Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels: The Careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History," *Medieval Women*, Derek Baker, ed. (Oxford, 1978), 31–77.

<sup>16</sup> See Wilhelm Sickel, "Das Thronfolgerecht der unehelichen Karolinger," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Germ. Abt. 24 (1903), 110–47; rpt. in *Königswahl und Thronfolge in frankisch-karolingischen Zeit*, Edvard Hlawitschka, ed. (Darmstadt, 1975), 106–43, especially 113. See also Walter Schlesinger, "Karlingische Königswahlen," *Zur Geschichte und Problematik der Demokratie: Festgabe für Hans Herzfeld*, 1958, 207–64, rpt. in Edvard Hlawitschka, as above, 190–266; and Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society*, 75–96.

<sup>17</sup> Schlesinger, "Karlingische Königswahlen," 251.

<sup>18</sup> Karl Schmid, "Die Thronfolge Ottos des Grossen," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Germ. Abt. 81 (1964), rpt. in *Königswahl und Thronfolge in Ottonisch-Frühdeutschen Zeit*, Edvard Hlawitschka, ed. (Darmstadt, 1971), 417–508.

among his other sons, his use of the two principles of legitimacy and primogeniture guided other succession patterns in medieval Europe. Eliminating the need for division of empire, the use of primogeniture meant a unified succession.

During the tenth century, while these ideas of succession were being tried in Germany, the Carolingians in the western part of the empire had continued to function as a *Sippe*. The Capetians, replacing the Carolingians toward the end of the century, began to develop a *Geschlecht* by a careful marriage policy that enabled them to keep patrimony intact for subsequent generations. The king secured hereditary succession for his oldest son by the well-known method of anticipatory association, making the French medieval monarchy the most stable in Western Europe.<sup>19</sup>

The Anglo-Saxons exhibited patterns similar to the Merovingians. As late as the tenth century, the kings were, if not polygynous, at least “committed serial monogamists.”<sup>20</sup> Many rulers kept concubines, and both legitimate and illegitimate sons could succeed to the throne.<sup>21</sup> In 1066, however, William, in substituting “the Conqueror” for his nickname “the Bastard,” symbolized a change: he was the last fully attested illegitimate ruler on the English throne. Although the Anglo-Norman kings did not abandon extramarital activities, and often expressed more pleasure in their illegitimate than their legitimate children, the offspring of their love affairs were never allowed to succeed them. Thus, when Henry I’s only legitimate son, William Audelin, died in 1120, Henry took the novel step of promoting his legitimate daughter, Matilda, for the succession, despite the fact that he had nine illegitimate sons, one of whom, Robert of Gloucester, was unusually able.<sup>22</sup> After a period of fraternal succession during the second half of the twelfth century, England also chose the path of primogeniture.

Germanic kings could have arrived at legitimacy and primogeniture without pressure from the church. Karl Schmid and Andrew Lewis have argued convincingly that the Saxons and the Capetians were driven to implement the *Geschlecht* because their landed base was too narrow to tolerate further division among siblings. The greatest impetus, however, came from churchmen, who, at the very time rulers were struggling with succession problems, promulgated new standards for marriage that stressed monogamy, fidelity, and indissolubility.<sup>23</sup> To churchmen, the older marriage pattern was reprehensible, not only because it resulted in social turmoil (particularly when practiced by kings) but even more so because

<sup>19</sup> Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 1–77; Andrew W. Lewis, “Anticipatory Association of the Heir in Early Capetian France,” *AHR*, 83 (1978): 906–27; J. Dhondt, “Election et hérité sous les Carolingiens et les premiers Capétiens,” trans. and rpt. by Edvard Hlawitschka, *Königswahl und Thronfolge in frühmittelalterlicher Zeit*, 144–89.

<sup>20</sup> Pauline Stafford, “Sons and Mothers: Family Politics in the Early Middle Ages,” in Baker, *Medieval Women*, 81.

<sup>21</sup> Margaret Clunies Ross, “Concubinage in Anglo-Saxon England,” *Past and Present*, 108 (1985): 3–39.

<sup>22</sup> Chris Given-Wilson and Alice Curteis, *The Royal Bastards of Medieval England* (London, 1984), 1–131, especially 60–93.

<sup>23</sup> Georges Duby, *Le Chevalier, la femme et le prêtre: Le Mariage dans la France féodale* (Paris, 1981); English trans. by Barbara Bray, *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France* (New York, 1983); Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society*, 75–123.



it was pagan. The church succeeded in persuading the ruling classes to accept the new framework by stressing the Christian aspects of marriage. The peoples of Scandinavia, however, accepting Christianity half a millennium after the rest of Europe and often with great reluctance, resisted the church's marriage policy and maintained the older reproductive pattern longer than did the rest of Europe.

More than the other Scandinavian countries, Norway provides a rewarding field for gathering information about the polygynous phase of royal sexuality and succession.<sup>24</sup> Geography rendered unification of Norway difficult, thereby permitting the coexistence of several royal siblings. The slow acceptance of Christianity retarded its influence on sexuality. Most important for researchers, Norway possesses an abundance of source materials. Rich narrative accounts, the Kings' sagas, written by medieval Icelandic and Norwegian historians from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, readily included women and provide modern scholars with information about kings and the women with whom they associated.<sup>25</sup> Genealogical tables from pagan and Christian poets connect Norwegian kings with an older, Swedish dynasty that blends with the pagan gods.<sup>26</sup> These sources offer stories about the sexual behavior of Norwegian kings from the pagan Harald Fairhair in the ninth century to Magnus Hakonson in the thirteenth century and shed light on the pattern of succession, the role played by mothers in promoting their offspring, and the remedies invented by churchmen and secular leaders to cope with the consequences of free sexuality.

BOTH PAGANS AND CHRISTIANS IN NORWAY DEVELOPED RULES for establishing legitimate marriages. In pagan society, these consisted of a series of financial agreements between the groom and the father of the bride, through which the woman was transferred to her husband. Churchmen accepted these arrange-

<sup>24</sup> On the problem of succession for Denmark, see Erich Hoffmann, *Königserhebung und Thronfolgeordnung in Dänemark bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1976); and Erich Hoffmann, *Die Heiligen Könige bei den Angelsachsen und den skandinavischen Völkern* (Neumünster, 1975). For Sweden, see Knut Olivecrona, *Das Werden eines Königs nach altschwedischen Recht: Der Königsritus als magischer Akt*, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, N.F. Avd. 1, 44, nr. 1, 1947 (1948).

<sup>25</sup> The Kings' sagas have never been exposed to the same distrust by historians as the more famous Family sagas. Although the problem of historicity is more complicated for the Kings' than for the Family sagas, the more recent accounts, such as *Sverris saga* and *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, were written within a short time of the period they describe and therefore must be considered as reliable as any other narrative account. Borrowing one from another, the older Kings' sagas offer several versions of the same event but are never as far removed from the society they describe as are the Family sagas. Even when relying solely on that towering Icelandic intellect, Snorri Sturluson, and his *Heimskringla*, modern Norwegian historians rarely hesitate to use his information; see Per Sveaas Andersen, *Samlingen av Norge og kristningen av landet 800–1130* (Oslo, 1977), 11–56; and Knut Helle, *Norge blir en stat 1130–1319* (Oslo, 1964), 1–19. For a recent and important treatment in English, see Carol J. Clover and John Lindow, eds., *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: A Critical Guide* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985), especially the chapter by Theodore M. Andersson, "Kings' Sagas (*Konungasögur*)," 197–238. See also Hans Kuhn, "Narrative Structures and Historicity in *Heimskringla*," *Parergon*, 15 (1976): 30–42. For the current rehabilitation of the Family sagas as historical sources, see William I. Miller, "Gift, Sale, Payment, Raid: Case Studies in the Negotiation and Classification of Exchange in Medieval Iceland," *Speculum*, 61 (1986): 18–50, especially note 8; Carol J. Clover, "Early Law and Society," *Scandinavian Studies*, 58 (1986): 97–100; and Jesse Byock, *Feud in the Icelandic Saga* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982).

<sup>26</sup> Representative of this genre are *Ynglingatal*, *Háleygjatal*, and *Nóregskonungatal*; see Guðni Jónsson's article "Genealogier," *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder* (hereafter cited as KLMN), 22 vols. (Copenhagen, 1956–78), 5: 247–49.

ments, but, from the end of the twelfth century, they attempted to add the woman's consent as an integral part of the wedding ceremony, which, in turn, had to be performed by ecclesiastics.<sup>27</sup> Among rulers, of course, political considerations often dictated the choice of a wife. For instance, the pagan Harald Fairhair married a Danish princess, Ragnhild Eriksdaughter. In 1101, the Christian Magnus Barelegs married a Swedish princess, Margret Ingedaughter, as part of an agreement to end hostilities between three Scandinavian kings.<sup>28</sup> Margret Ingedaughter's role was emblemized by her nickname, Peacewoman (*Friðkolla*), a role she perpetuated by marrying the Danish King Niels shortly after Magnus's death.<sup>29</sup>

A wife was only one of a king's sexual companions. Unless the sources specifically mention marriage, it is difficult to distinguish between wives and other bedmates of pagan kings because the vocabulary is imprecise. While the terms *ambátt*, "slave" or "servant," and *friðla*, "concubine," clearly denote extramarital status, *konur* can mean either wives or women. Words such as "obtained" (*fekk*), and "had" (*átti*), are likely to indicate marriage, while the expression "placed her next to himself in bed" (*lagði hana hjá sér*), imply casual relations ranging from brief liaisons to affairs of several years' duration. We know the names of seven women who produced children for Harald Fairhair besides his wife, Ragnhild, and, if we can trust the report that he dismissed nine women when he married her, he must have had a large harem, for he reportedly sired twenty sons and several daughters.<sup>30</sup>

Christianity brought little change in this behavior. From the ninth to the thirteenth century, all the kings were adulterous, and almost all the contenders between St. Olaf in the first half of the eleventh century and Magnus Hakonson in the late thirteenth were illegitimate. King Magnus Erlingson was called "a great womanizer" (*kvenna-maðr mikill*) at his death in 1184, and that designation would have fitted most of the kings.<sup>31</sup> King Magnus Barelegs died without legitimate children but had seven children with as many companions and composed love poetry to at least two others. Among the seven companions, Sigrid Saxedaughter, the mother of King Olaf Magnuson, was designated the king's concubine (*friðla*),

<sup>27</sup> Jenny M. Jochens, "The Female Icelandic Heroine: Fact or Fiction?" *Viator*, 17 (1986): 35–50, and "Consent in Marriage: Old Norse Law, Life, and Literature," *Scandinavian Studies*, 56 (1986): 142–76.

<sup>28</sup> Snorri Sturluson, *Haralds saga hárfagra*, in *Heimskringla*, Finnur Jónsson, ed., Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur 23 (hereafter cited as SUGNL), 4 vols. (Copenhagen, 1893–1901), 1, chap. 21. *Heimskringla* is available in English translation; L. M. Hollander, trans., *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway* (Austin, Tx., 1964). In order to facilitate the location of passages in the translations, references in this article are to individual sagas within *Heimskringla*. For English translations of other Old Norse texts, see Donald K. Fry, *Norse Sagas Translated into English* (New York, 1980).

<sup>29</sup> Snorri Sturluson, *Magnús saga berfætttr*, chaps. 15–16, in *Heimskringla*, 3; and Snorri Sturluson, *Magnússona saga*, chap. 24, in *Heimskringla*, 3.

<sup>30</sup> See *Haraldz saga hárfagra*, chaps. 17, 21, 25, 37, in which the names of the mothers and their children are listed. Agrip, Finnur Jónsson, ed. (Halle, 1929), chap. 2, supplies the information that the king had twenty sons with many wives or women (*konur*), but it names only one woman. The names of the sons are given but not the daughters. *Historia Norvegiæ*, Gustav Storm, ed., *Monumenta Historica Norvegiæ* (Kristiania, 1880), 104, lists sixteen named sons. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson argues from the poem *Hákonarmál*, composed in the ninth century, that Harald had only nine sons; intro., *Heimskringla*, Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, ed., Íslensk Fornrit 26–28 (Reykjavík, 1941–51), 26: lxx. Both the age and the stringent poetic form vouch for the poem as the most reliable source. Since an exaggeration concerning the number of Harald's sons has occurred, it may also apply to the number of his sexual companions.

<sup>31</sup> *Sverris saga*, G. Indrebø, ed. (Kristiania, 1920), chap. 98.

but, at the same time, Magnus also kept at court Thora, the mother of King Sigurd Jerusalem-farer.<sup>32</sup> Marriage gradually increased in importance. In the middle of the eleventh century, King Harald the Ruthless—of Stamford Bridge fame—apparently considered bigamy better than concubinage, as he married Thora Thorbergsdaughter in Norway, despite having already wed Ellisif, daughter of King Jarisleif in Russia.<sup>33</sup>

Although the choice of wives was often dictated by politics, the kings picked their more casual bedmates for their youth, looks, or other desirable features. Harald Fairhair was taken by the beauty of two of his consorts, and St. Olaf's mistress Alfhild, the mother of his only son, was praised for her beauty.<sup>34</sup> But these attractions are only mentioned in the sources when the kings indulged themselves with lower-class women. Their liaisons within their own social circles elicited few comments, perhaps reflecting a general acceptance of the free sexual behavior of kings under these circumstances. That the kings themselves shared these views may be surmised from the fact that their relations with lower-class women were of short duration.

In a society in which it was the father's responsibility to arrange his daughter's marriage, one might wonder how kings obtained their casual liaisons. Married women were off limits for other men, even kings, in pagan as well as Christian times, since husbands did not take kindly to the idea of sharing their sexual rights over legally acquired wives. The injured male often chose to kill the offender, a reaction that was allowed to cut across social barriers. In the tenth century, the pagan Sigurd the Slimy, one of Harald Fairhair's sons, slept with Alof, wife of Klypp Thordson, against her will, and was killed by her husband.<sup>35</sup> A generation later, the uprising of the chieftains and farmers against Earl Hakon was abetted by his excessive appetite for women and, in particular, for the wives of the leaders.<sup>36</sup> He was killed ignominiously by his slave while hiding under the pigsty

<sup>32</sup> *Magnús saga berfættr*, chap. 16; *Magnússona saga*, chap. 30.

<sup>33</sup> Snorri Sturluson, *Haraldz saga harðráða*, chaps. 33, 64, 82, in *Heimskringla*, 3. It is of interest to note that Harald named his first child Maria, after a young Greek woman he had wanted to marry during his stay in Constantinople. In this way, the popular Christian name entered the North; chaps. 13, 33. The law code *Grágás* permitted a married Icelander to take a second wife while in Norway, an arrangement justified by the three-year absence entailed in such journeys; *Grágás*, Vilhjálmur Finsen, ed. (Copenhagen, 1852), 1a: 226; and *Grágás*, Vilhjálmur Finsen, ed. (Copenhagen, 1879), 2: 70. No similar stipulation existed in Norwegian law and would not have applied in Harald's case, since he eventually lived with both wives simultaneously; *Haraldz saga harðráða*, chap. 82, in *Heimskringla*, 3.

<sup>34</sup> The consorts were Gyda and Snæfrid; *Haraldz saga hárfagra*, chaps. 3, 24. Only the insistence of one consort's father made Harald Fairhair marry her according to the law. On Alfhild, see Snorri Sturluson, *Óláfs saga helga*, chap. 122, in *Heimskringla*, 2.

<sup>35</sup> Snorri Sturluson, *Haraldz saga gráfeldar*, chap. 14, in *Heimskringla*, 1. The story is also found in *Ágrip*, chap. 9, and *Historia Norwegiæ*, *Monumenta Historica Norwegiæ*, 108.

<sup>36</sup> Although having praised Hakon earlier, all the sources establish a direct connection between his sexual excesses and the chieftains' uprising. *Ágrip*, chap. 13; Oddr Snorrason, *Saga Óláfs Tryggvasonar*, Finnur Jónsson, ed. (Copenhagen, 1932), chap. 20; *Fagrskinna*, Finnur Jónsson, ed., SUGNL 30 (Copenhagen, 1932), chap. 20; Snorri Sturluson, *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, chaps. 45, 47, in *Heimskringla*, 1. In *Ágrip*, the resistance is incited singlehandedly by a certain Gudrun, but Snorri Sturluson's account provides her a husband who took the initiative. Oddr Snorrason makes Brynjolf the organizer because of an earlier insult when his wife was dragged from his bed and brought to Hakon.

of his last concubine.<sup>37</sup> A probable source of foreign women was the taking of women in warfare (*herfang*), although, in Norway, single women living away from their families or daughters living at home were more likely candidates as royal companions.<sup>38</sup>

The reproductive capabilities of women were highly appreciated, and, as long as the royal succession was open to all sons born to a king, familial protection against the sexual advances of prominent men was less for daughters than for wives. Indeed, parents often encouraged daughters' liaisons in hopes of royal offspring, as is clear from a story in *Jómsvíkinga saga*. King Harald of Denmark spent the night with Asa, the daughter of a farmer, Atle, with the father's approval. When the father noticed that his daughter was pregnant, he affirmed that his respect for her would increase with the prominence of her lover.<sup>39</sup> A daughter's success in producing a male child for a king could result in social advancement for the whole kin group, lasting several generations.

Royal sons were vital to a society in which the ideal succession went from father to son and permitted no "female link" (*kvennkne*) to intervene. Although many kings undoubtedly sought sexual adventures through lust, it is likely that some kings gave careful thought to male succession. To reproduce successfully with only one woman can be difficult, and a large number of medieval marriages were sterile or produced only female children. Even kings who reproduced with several women could not be sure of continued lineage. Hakon the Good's progeny ended with his daughter Thora.<sup>40</sup> This was also the case with Magnus the Good, as well as the legitimate lines of St. Olaf and Sverre.<sup>41</sup> Limited reproductive expectations were exacerbated by a high rate of infant mortality. Perhaps the bigamy of Harald the Ruthless was prompted by the fact that his first wife produced only daughters. His second wife gave birth to two sons, one of whom engendered Magnus Barelegs, who in turn fathered no fewer than five kings.

Because men arranged most of these liaisons to favor themselves, it comes as no surprise that women voice what little expression we find in the Kings' sagas toward

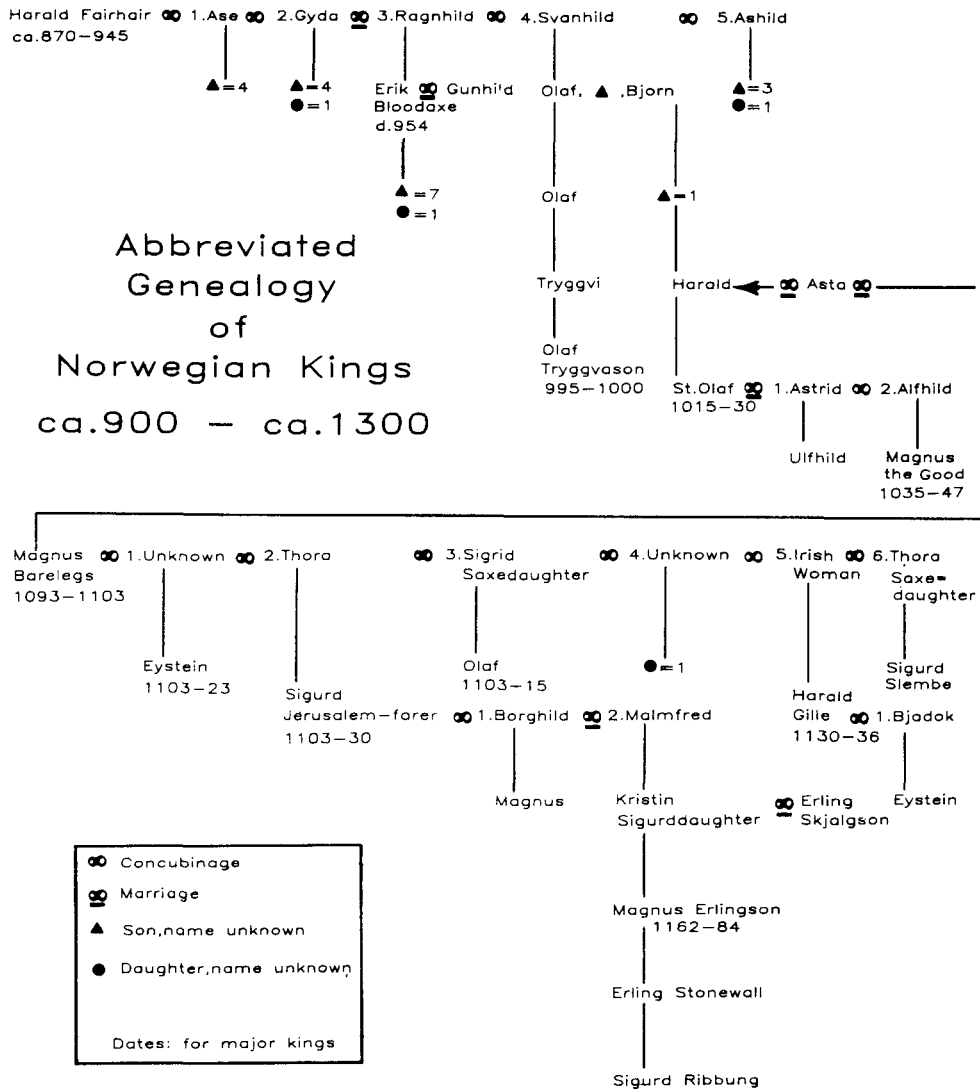
<sup>37</sup> The author of *Ágrip* permits himself the pun that, in this way, the fornicator (the defiled man) ended his life and his kingdom in the pigsty (defiled house) ("lauk svá saurlífismaðr i saurgo húsi sinom dögum ok svá ríki"), chap. 13. In the early thirteenth century, the chieftains Jon Drotning and Bard Isaks-brother were killed by irate husbands whose wives they had raped; *Boglunga sögur*, in *Fornmanna sögur* 9 (Copenhagen, 1835), chaps. 8, 17; and *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, Guðbrandur Vigfússon, ed. (London, 1887), chap. 192.

<sup>38</sup> *Herfang* was prohibited by churchmen as late as 1176; *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, 15 vols. (Copenhagen, 1857–76), 1: 234; *Norges gamle Love*, 5 vols. (Kristiania, 1846–95), 1: 409. According to William of Malmsbury, Alfild, mentioned above as St. Olaf's mistress, was an English woman who had been taken by Norwegian vikings, married to one for whom she bore a child, and later taken by the king as his mistress. *Íslenzk Fornrit* 28, 108 n. 1.

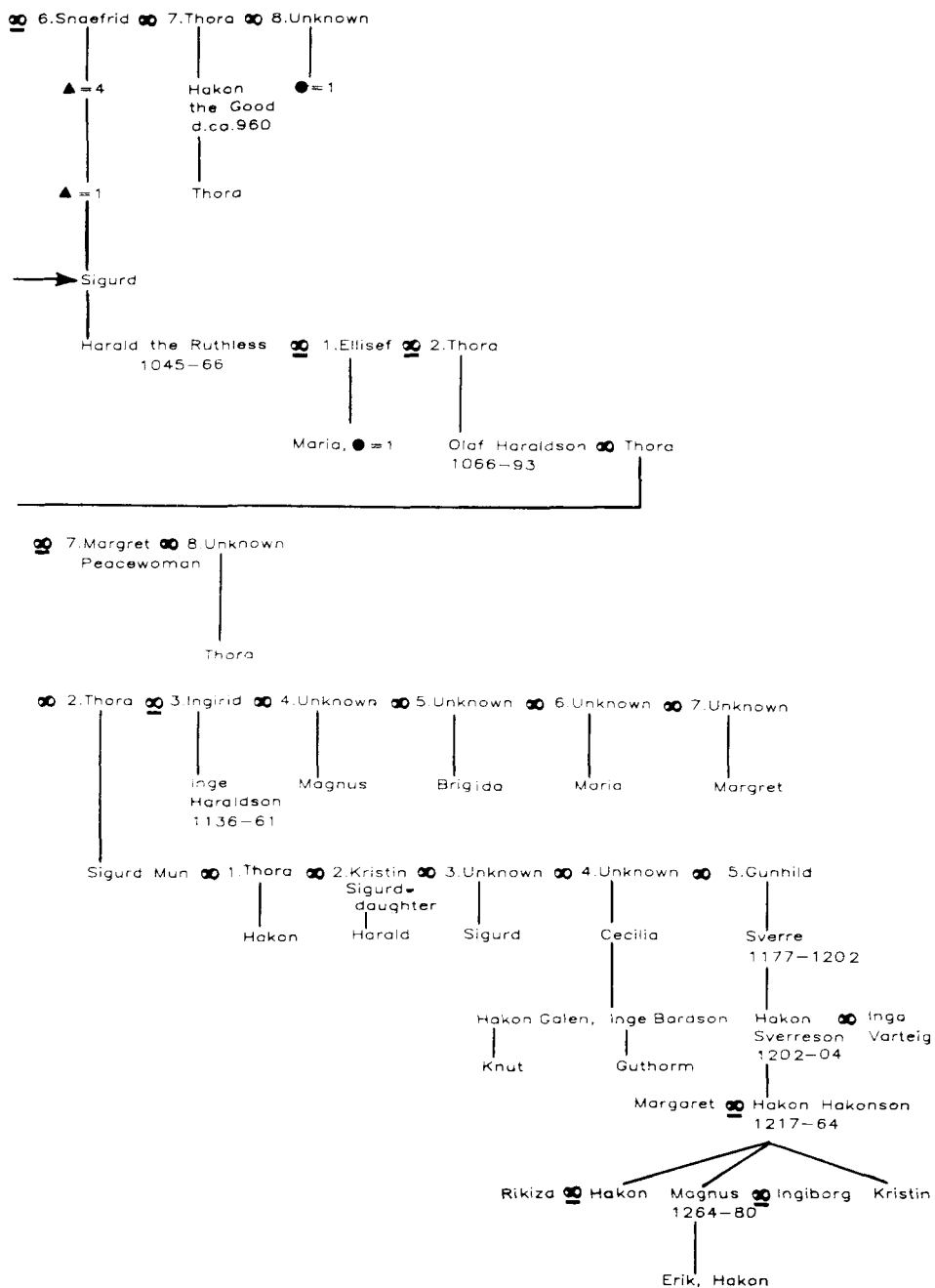
<sup>39</sup> *Jómsvíkinga saga*, Carl af Petersen, ed., SUGNL 7 (Copenhagen, 1882), chap. 8.

<sup>40</sup> Snorri Sturluson, *Hákonar saga góða*, chap. 32, in *Heimskringla*, 1.

<sup>41</sup> Magnus the Good's only daughter, Ragnhild, was married to an important chieftain, Hakon Ivarson; *Haraldz saga harðráða*, chaps. 47–50; *Morkinskinna*, Finnur Jónsson, ed., SUGNL 53 (Copenhagen, 1882), 215–34. St. Olaf's legitimate daughter, Ulfhild, was married outside the country; *Morkinskinna*, 38–49; Sverre's legitimate daughter, Kristin, married Philip Simonson but died in childbirth; *Boglunga sögur*, chap. 35. On this marriage, see Jochens, "Consent in Marriage."







restraining male sexuality.<sup>42</sup> A story from the collection of Kings' sagas known as *Morkinskinna* gives an illustration of the women's circumstances and also suggests a program for the future. King Magnus the Good, son of St. Olaf, came to visit a chieftain, Thrand, and his daughter, Margret. The king was so taken by Margret's beauty that he wanted to sleep with her the same night. Neither father nor daughter was enthusiastic; Thrand because he did not think the match suitable for the king, and Margret because she found painful the thought of giving her love to Magnus and losing him immediately after.<sup>43</sup> Presented with Margret's scruples, Magnus assured her father that he was not an unreasonable man; the night might turn out to her advantage, and he promised to take care of any consequences if she should become pregnant.<sup>44</sup> Although Margret remained unconvinced, Thrand prepared a beautiful bed and ordered his daughter to await the king there. When Magnus arrived, he sent his men away, and, climbing in bed with the girl, he explained to her softly that he was going to do her a great favor, if she would only cooperate.

So far, the concern of the old society dominates the story—the male's interest is in exploiting the female's ability to reproduce. But the story also contains new ideas. While Margret is waiting for Magnus, a person enters the room in disguise. Pretending to be a certain Sigurd, the king's relative, he offers her protection against the king's advances, touches her chest, instructs her to tell Magnus that she has seen "Sigurd," and leaves. Margret obeys, and the effect on the king is dramatic. He angrily jumps out of bed—he has apparently been looking forward to spending the night with a virgin—awakens her father and orders him to find Sigurd, who is able, however, to supply a valid alibi for his whereabouts. As the questioning progresses, Magnus asks to be shown the spot on Margret's body that the stranger touched. Seeing the imprint of a silver coin, Magnus realizes that the disguised figure was his father, St. Olaf, the previous king, who did not approve of Magnus's intended affair with Margret. So, Magnus gives her in marriage to the real Sigurd.

Chronologically, these events belong in the fourth decade of the eleventh century. We do not know when the story actually originated, but the writing of *Morkinskinna* is normally ascribed to the period 1220–35. By this time, the saintly king Olaf (whose own extramarital exploits, incidentally, were well known), had

<sup>42</sup> *Knyttlinga saga* relates the story of a beautiful woman, the wife of a priest, who, when ordered by the equally married Danish King Knut to sleep with him, was able to convince the king to desist by appealing to his obligation to be a model of morality. Knut "found another bed for the night," apologized, not to the woman, of course, but to her husband, to whom he gave a present; *Knyttlinga saga*, Bjarni Guðnason, ed., *Íslenzk Fornrit* 35 (Reykjavik, 1982), chap. 31.

<sup>43</sup> "Eigi samir yðr þat"; *Morkinskinna*, 121. Thrand's hesitation was not because the king did not mention marriage but because Thrand did not think that he and his daughter were of sufficient social standing for the king. This is clear from the version in *Flateyjarbók*, Guðbrandur Vigfússon and C. R. Unger, eds., 3 vols. (Kristiania, 1860–68), 3: 324. Margret stated that "þicci mer þat þvngt at legia fyrst ast við hann. oc tyna honom bratt"; *Morkinskinna*, 121.

<sup>44</sup> "Ecki em ec kendr við vdrengscap af flestom monnom. en byasc ma sva vm at henne verði gefa at þeso. oc engi hefindi mono a oðro verða en ec raða fyrir"; *Morkinskinna*, 121.

been identified with Christian behavior limiting sexual activities to marriage and forbidding marriage with women against their will.<sup>45</sup>

BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN MYTH AND HISTORY IN THE NORTH, a number of genealogical poems and lists explain the descent of Norwegian kings from the gods. Although some of these materials date back to pagan times and thus cannot be influenced by the scriptural genealogies, they are no more generous than is the Bible toward the female share in reproduction. An unbroken list of forefathers (*langfeðgatal*) is the special pride of Icelanders.<sup>46</sup>

At the beginning of Norwegian history stands the imposing figure of Harald Fairhair, first to be sole king over the country. His reign may have extended over more than seven decades during the ninth and tenth centuries. The father of numerous offspring, his sexual energy affected Norwegian history for three centuries. His male children and their descendants dominated and devastated Norwegian society, causing endless civil wars, particularly during the twelfth century, until, by the middle of the thirteenth century, the acceptance of the rules of monogamy and legitimacy harnessed and domesticated the male sexual drive. None of the versions of the history of Harald Fairhair, however, indicate disapproval of his sexual behavior, but, rather, the accounts show pride in this ancestor whose sexual prowess provided the framework and material for the narratives. It may be no coincidence that the narrative sources cease at about the same time monogamy was accepted. Snorri Sturluson, familiar with the dream of King Halfdan's (Harald's father) long hair that was taken to symbolize his descendants, inserted in his account another dream attributed to Harald's mother, Ragnhild. Before his birth, she dreamed that she took a thorn out of her dress. This thorn grew rapidly to become a huge tree with branches spreading over all Norway. Snorri interpreted this vision to symbolize Harald's descendants, adding that all the Norwegian kings were of his kin. Snorri also informs us that, at the age of fifty, when some of Harald's sons were already dead and the rest grown and impatient for power, Harald decided to make kings of his remaining sons, further stipulating that any descendants in his male line be given a king's title, while sons born of his daughters be made earls.<sup>47</sup>

Of Harald's many sons, only two succeeded him as ruler of the entire country, namely, the oldest, Erik Bloodaxe, and the youngest, Hakon the Good. The

<sup>45</sup> See, for example, *Rauðúlfs þátr*, in *Den Store saga om Olaf den hellige*, O. A. Johnsen and J. Helgason, eds., 2 vols. (Oslo, 1941), 2: 655–82.

<sup>46</sup> In *Nóregs konunga-tal*, names of women occasionally appear to indicate the line of descent; text in Finnur Jónsson, *Den Norsk-Islandske skjaldedigtning*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1912), 1B: 575–90. See E. F. Halvorsen, "Langfeðgatal," KLMN 10: 311–13. When Snorri Sturluson used *Ynglingatal* in his *Ynglingasaga*, he added reproducing queens for each king, suggesting that the kings lived in monogamy, or at least in serial monogamy; *Heimskringla*, 1: 9–85. On this poem, see Joan Turville-Petre, "On Ynglingatal," *Mediaeval Scandinavia*, 11 (1978–79): 48–67.

<sup>47</sup> Snorri Sturluson, *Hálfðanar saga svarta*, chap. 6, in *Heimskringla*, 1; *Haraldz saga hárfagra*, chaps. 42, 33. For a careful evaluation of the sources for Harald Fairhair, see Jan de Vries, "Harald Schönhaar in Sage und Geschichte," *Paul und Braunes Beiträge*, 66 (1942): 55–117, rpt. in Jan de Vries, *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin, 1965), 162–208.

competition between these two resulted in warfare during the tenth century, but civil war over succession almost disappeared during the eleventh century, because only a limited number of contenders appeared, despite the kings' unrestrained sexuality. During this period, the rule was occasionally shared by two brothers or by an uncle and a nephew.<sup>48</sup> This anomalous calm may be explained by the effects of natural disasters. All historical sources, including the most reliable—scaldic poetry—report serious famine and extreme weather conditions around the turn of the century. The ocean stopped yielding fish, and the snow remained on the ground at midsummer.<sup>49</sup> Because human reproduction may have been retarded by insufficient nutrition, Norwegian society in the eleventh century had not yet felt the full potential of the unrestrained male. Even during the first decades of the twelfth century, when three half-brothers, illegitimate sons of Magnus Barelegs, ruled together, the succession did not cause great problems.

During the following century (1130–1240), however, kings no longer accepted shared rule as an alternative to single rule. The devastating consequences of free male sexuality now became clear. In this period, no fewer than forty-six candidates, each claiming royal descent, demanded acceptance as kings. A royal father was a necessary but not sufficient prerequisite for kingship. A candidate also had to find a local assembly (*þing*) willing to give him certification (*konungstekja*). Only then could he fight against his rivals and hope that other assemblies would support him. Of these candidates, about half (twenty-four) became kings for a short time; two obtained sustained authority over the country as a whole. Among the total number of candidates, twelve or thirteen were born in legitimate marriages; of the successful contenders, only five could claim this distinction. Three of these used legitimacy to reinforce the more questionable succession through the female line, and a fourth was a half-brother of a king. In other words, in this period, only one king, Inge Haraldson, could boast of being the legitimate son of a king. The crucial factor was still paternity, not legitimacy.

In most cases, the names of the royal bedmates and their progeny were public knowledge. As long as a young man of royal parentage stayed in the court circles, his claim was not disputed. Before death, a king might admit that he had also fathered a son abroad, in which case the young man would be accepted on his arrival in Norway, as happened with Eystein Haraldson, traveling from Scotland in the 1140s. Problems did occur, however, when unknown young men came from abroad, claiming to have been conceived by Norwegian kings on their frequent journeys. Arriving from the Faeroe Islands early in the thirteenth century, a man named Erling claimed to be the son of King Sverre. He was supported in this by his half-sister Kristin, although Sverre had declared on his deathbed that he had no other heir but Hakon, no matter how many men might come from the west

<sup>48</sup> Norwegian historians have been engaged in a lively debate as to whether Norway was a hereditary or elective monarchy; see Steinar Imsen, "Tronfølge," KLMN 18: 689–92; for a useful overview, see Johan Schreiner, "Arvekongedømmet i Norge," *Scandia*, 11 (1938): 64–92; a recent contribution is Sverre Bagge, "Borgerkrig og statsudvikling i Norge i middelalderen," (Norsk) *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 65 (1986): 145–97.

<sup>49</sup> *Monumenta Historica Norwegiae*, 12; *Ágrip*, chaps. 5, 9; *Fagrskinna*, 53; *Haraldz saga gráfeldar*, chaps. 2, 16.

pretending to be his sons. In this instance, there may have been a striking family resemblance, since Erling's mother was either Sverre's first cousin or, possibly, even his half-sister.<sup>50</sup>

Other cases, harder to determine, were solved by ordeal. The sources report five ordeals in which paternity was the issue. The most famous was the ordeal undergone by Harald Gille, whose half-brother Sigurd ordered him to walk on nine glowing plowshares, assisted by two bishops.<sup>51</sup> He passed the test, but Sigurd made him promise that he would not try to obtain the kingdom while Sigurd and his son Magnus were alive. After Sigurd's death, Harald became a successful contender and fathered four sons, among them the legitimate Inge. All of them became kings, at least briefly.<sup>52</sup> Norway also experienced a female pretender, the false Maid of Norway.<sup>53</sup>

Prohibited by the church in 1247, the ordeal by hot iron had already lost its reputation for efficacy, particularly because of a fraudulent procedure of 1204, which involved a man pretending to be Erling Stonewall, who, in turn, had claimed to be a son of King Magnus Erlingson. Bishop Nicolas of Oslo administered the ordeal, warning this impostor that he was perfectly aware of "Erling's" origins and could manipulate the test at will. Hiding the man's hand in his own when the bandages were lifted, the bishop declared that he had never seen a hand more unharmed by the iron. Certified as Erling Stonewall, the impostor greatly harmed Sverre's party, as did his son and successor Sigurd Ribbung, despite the notoriety of the fraud.<sup>54</sup> By the thirteenth century, the prize of the monarchy had become so great, and the system of controlling pretenders so ineffectual, that notorious adventurers tried their hand at becoming king, including a former priest, Bene-

<sup>50</sup> *Sverris saga*, chap. 180; *Bøglunga sögur*, chap. 40. The mother of Erling was the daughter of Bishop Roe, Sverre's uncle, who had fostered Sverre until his mother revealed his royal parentage. If we accept this story, Sverre had seduced his cousin. If Sverre was simply Roe's son, we have a case of incest between brother and sister.

<sup>51</sup> Or seven plowshares in some accounts. *Magnússona saga*, chap. 26.

<sup>52</sup> Another candidate was Sigurd Slembe, who had been presumed to be the son of a priest until his mother announced that his father was the ubiquitous Magnus Barelegs. Traveling abroad, Sigurd returned to Norway in 1136, claiming to have undergone the hot iron ordeal in Denmark in the presence of five bishops; Snorri Sturluson, *Magnús saga blinda ok Haraldz gilla*, chap. 13, in *Heimskringla*, 3. The friends of Harald Gille argued that the Danes had lied, but Sigurd's claim is supported by contemporary scaldic poetry. Sverre himself, the most important of the contenders, had vaguely offered to undergo the test but was accepted without it in 1177; *Sverris saga*, chap. 11 ("hans mál væri áðr birt við nockorum sannendum"). On the other hand, Sverre forced Erik, who claimed to be his half-brother, to proceed with the ordeal. Sverre himself composed the oath required of Erik. When he passed the test, Sverre recognized him as brother but was unwilling to share the kingdom, only reluctantly naming him an earl four years later. At the simultaneous death of Erik, his wife, and son in 1189, rumors of poisoning began to circulate. Sverre may well have kept down the number of rivals by such means; *Sverris saga*, chaps. 59, 113, 115. On Erik, see Eirik Vandvik, "Eirik kongsson i dokument og saga," (Norsk) *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 38 (1957–58): 491–516.

<sup>53</sup> Pretending to be the Margret who, as a six-year-old girl, was sent to the Orkneys to be married to the king of Scotland but died under mysterious circumstances in 1290, a woman appeared in Norway in 1300 claiming that she had been sold in Germany. Both she, her husband, and the man who hatched the plan were executed; P. A. Munch, *Det norske Folks Historie*, 4 vols. (Kristiania, 1859), 4: 2, 195–97, 343–48.

<sup>54</sup> *Bøglunga sögur*, chaps. 5, 9; *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chaps. 134, 139, 143. The bishop claimed that the impostor was the son of a farmer, known for his lies, but, in return for this support, he received "Erling's" acceptance of the bishop's nephew Philip as earl.



dict, nicknamed Bene Skin Knife, and a man who used the royal name Inge, but was in fact a Dane named Thorgils.<sup>55</sup>

WOMEN WHO CONSORTED WITH PROMINENT MEN OFTEN SUFFERED considerable hardship in an effort to protect and promote their offspring. The saga dealing with Hakon Hakonson (1217–63) contains a rare glimpse into the brief but decisive relationship between the father and mother of a candidate for succession. During the fall of 1203, the young Inga Varteig stayed with the unmarried King Hakon Sverreson in Bergen. Only a few of the king's men knew that she shared his bed, and even she may not have known that she was pregnant when the king died on 1 January 1204, since Hakon Hakonson was born during the next summer.<sup>56</sup> We do not know whether Inga was a willing or reluctant partner, but, once pregnant, she came to share the fate of other young women who carried to term the pregnancies engendered by dead, absent, or married kings. Rejected by her family, Inga sought refuge with friends and gave birth to her son secretly at a priest's house.<sup>57</sup> Likewise, both Olaf Tryggvason and St. Olaf were born after their fathers' deaths, and their mothers had to seek safety before giving birth.<sup>58</sup> Afterward, all these women were compelled to move from place to place with their infant sons in order to protect them from the persecutions of competitors.

Foreign women were often the object of Norwegian kings on their travels. The consequences for the succession of these brief sexual encounters caused some consternation abroad, particularly in England, where the chronicler Roger of Hoveden was disconcerted by the low status of the mothers of Norwegian monarchs.<sup>59</sup> Since these mothers were usually the sole providers for their children, they saw it as their first responsibility to tell their sons of their paternal origins and to name them after their royal fathers.<sup>60</sup> Mothers frequently accompanied their sons to Norway to help them claim their rights as royal sons. The young men were often asked to undergo ordeals, but, in the final analysis, a woman's testimony of paternity carried great weight, not only with her son but also with those considering his acceptance.<sup>61</sup> Women were prepared to go to great lengths to

<sup>55</sup> *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chaps. 33, 34, 178.

<sup>56</sup> *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chaps. 1, 3.

<sup>57</sup> *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chap. 3. On Inga, see Ebbe Hertzberg, "Inga af Varteig og hendes Ættlegg," (Norsk) *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 5R 1 (1912): 1–28.

<sup>58</sup> See *Saga Óláfs Tryggvasonar*, chap. 2; *Fagrskinna*, chap. 21; *Ágrip*, chap. 17; *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, chap. 1; and *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, Óláfs Halldórsson, ed., 2 vols. (Copenhagen: 1958–61), 1, chap. 43. St. Olaf's mother gave birth at her father's house after her husband's murder; *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, chaps. 43, 44.

<sup>59</sup> Gustav Storm, "Kong Sverres fædrene herkomst," (Norsk) *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 4R 2B (1904): 163–91, in which the appropriate Latin texts from the English writers are reprinted. Storm wrongly calls him Robert de Hoveden.

<sup>60</sup> From *Orkneyinga saga*, we learn of the meeting in England between two young men in their teens, a Norwegian named Kale and an Irishman by the name of Gillekrist. The latter told Kale that he was the son of Magnus Barelegs, and that his mother's family came from the Hebrides and Ireland; *Íslensk Fornrit* 34, chap. 59.

<sup>61</sup> Gillekrist's mother brought him to Norway in the 1120s, affirming that he also carried the royal name Harald. He was accepted as king under the name Harald Gille; *Magnússona saga*, chap. 26. A generation later, a Scottish woman, Bjadok, arrived with Eystein, claiming that he was the son of Harald

prove relationships with kings. Inga Varteig offered on several occasions to undergo the hot iron ordeal herself to prove the paternity of her son Hakon. In 1218, she did so and passed the test.<sup>62</sup> Women impregnated by married kings made an effort to give birth near the king, or at least to bring the child to the father for recognition as quickly as possible.<sup>63</sup>

The most remarkable illustration of the role of women in promoting their offspring is provided by *Sverris saga*, written—at least, the section under consideration here—under the auspices of the king himself. Born in 1151 in Norway, Sverre was assumed to be the son of Gunhild and her husband, Unas, a comb maker. When Sverre was five, he was sent to the Faeroes to be fostered by Unas's brother, Bishop Roe. On a pilgrimage to Rome twenty years later, Gunhild confessed that Sverre was not the son of her husband, but of King Sigurd Mun. The case was presented to the pope, who instructed Gunhild to go to the Faeroes and tell her son about his royal paternity.<sup>64</sup> After a year's hesitation, Sverre made his way to Norway, where he eventually became king and the progenitor of an illustrious lineage. Historians have debated whether the mother's story was true or whether Sverre was a simple impostor like some of his own competitors. For our purposes, the question of truth is not important.<sup>65</sup> If Sverre was indeed of royal stock, he was—like other contenders—helped by his mother to obtain his position; if an impostor, his story still shows the degree to which a woman's promotion of her offspring was accepted, even outside royal circles.<sup>66</sup>

The mother of a royal daughter could hope for a prestigious marriage for her child, as indeed often happened, but, as might be expected, society considered legitimacy an asset for a girl in a good marriage at an earlier date than it did for a boy in line for royal succession.

By promoting her royal offspring, a woman gained several advantages. The birth of a boy recognized as royal guaranteed her a place at her lover's court, and, if her son became king, she was taken care of for life.<sup>67</sup> In addition, she was often able to bring into the royal entourage other children fathered by other men before

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Gille. Since Harald had admitted before his death in 1135 that he had in fact fathered a child before coming to Norway, her word was accepted; *Inga saga ok Sigurðar*, chap. 13, in *Heimskringla*, 3.

<sup>62</sup> *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chap. 41–45. When Cardinal William came to Norway in 1237 to perform the coronation of Hakon, he specifically outlawed this procedure; chap. 255.

<sup>63</sup> See, for example, the behavior of Thora at the birth of Hakon the Good (*Haraldz saga hárfagra*, chap. 37), and the unnamed, lower-class woman who gave birth to Erik, son of Earl Hakon (*Haraldz saga gráfeldar*, chap. 8). In both cases, the sons were accepted by the fathers and became their successors.

<sup>64</sup> *Sverris saga*, chaps. 1–4.

<sup>65</sup> Foreign scholars seem more willing to admit the fraud, while Norwegian historians seek to reconcile the many inconsistencies in the story; see G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, *A Royal Impostor: King Sverre of Norway* (Oslo, 1956); Ludvig Daae, "Var Sverre kongesøn?" (Norsk *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 4.4 (1905): 1–28; L. Holm-Olsen, *Studier i Sverres saga* (Oslo, 1953); Arne Odd Johnsen, "The Age of Ordination to the Priesthood in the North Atlantic Islands in the Twelfth Century," *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, 20 (1978–79): 24–30; and Edwin Thorkelsen, "Sverre som løgner: Et Forsøk på en psykohistorisk vurdering," (Norsk *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 62 (1983): 419–43.

<sup>66</sup> Gathorne-Hardy is undoubtedly correct when he points out that Sverre himself did not believe the story; see Gathorne-Hardy, *A Royal Imposter*, 111–12.

<sup>67</sup> Alfild, the mistress of St. Olaf, gave birth to his only son, Magnus the Good. When Magnus became king, he kept his mother at court with great honor, although it caused friction with his stepmother, Astrid, St. Olaf's widow; *Óláfs saga helga*, chap. 122; *Magnús saga góða*, chap. 7, in *Heimskringla*, 3.

or after her relationship with the king. The promotion of more distant kin, such as brothers or uncles, was even possible. The reproductive careers of two sisters, Sigrid and Thora, daughters of Saxe in Vik, provide an illustration. The elder daughter, Sigrid, became the mistress of Magnus Barelegs and mother of his son, King Olaf, but she also gave birth to another son, Kare, who became known simply as “the king’s brother.” Kare made an advantageous marriage, and, in due course, his grandson was married to the sister of King Inge and Count Skule of the following generation. Thus the single reproductive success of a woman with a king brought into prominence other branches of this formerly unknown family. Inspired by her sister’s success, Thora tried to pass her son off as the progeny of Magnus Barelegs, too. Although serious doubt was raised as to the veracity of the claim, Thora had obviously perceived the advantage of the gamble.<sup>68</sup>

The term “king’s brother” became a quasi title, employed for the reigning king’s maternal half-brother, who possessed no royal blood but had shared the same womb as the current king. A paternal half-brother would most probably have been a pretender himself. A good example is Orm, half-brother of King Inge through his mother, Ingirid, and fathered before her third marriage by Ivar Sneis.<sup>69</sup> Until his death in 1184, Orm played an important role in the political and military events of his age. A close analysis of the texts reveals an abundance of such cases, sometimes promoted by the mother of the sibling, at other times sponsored by the half-brother himself.<sup>70</sup> These actions suggest that horizontal kinship ties, including affinal relations, were still competing with male vertical lineage and legitimate marriage.

At times, it seems as if the degree of proximity to a former or present king (*Königsnähe*), not paternity, determined whether a candidate would become king himself or at least obtain an important position in the royal entourage. In the case of Harald the Ruthless, it is clear that his position as brother of St. Olaf through their mother, Asta, is the important consideration and not the fact that his father was a minor king. An extreme case of this “kin selection”—to use the sociobiological term—is seen in 1165 at the election of the young boy Magnus Erlingsson, who was legitimate successor through a female line to King Sigurd Jerusalem-farer. Before accepting the proposal that his and Kristin’s son Magnus become king, Erling suggested three other candidates: a young boy who was the grandson of a previous king through a female, illegitimate line, a mature man who was the son of a maternal half-brother to another king, and any one of the young sons of the queen mother in her new marriage.<sup>71</sup> Erling’s strategy may have been to increase the

<sup>68</sup> *Magnús saga blinda ok Haraldz gilla*, chap. 13.

<sup>69</sup> *Inga saga ok Sigurðar*, chap. 16. Granddaughter of a Swedish king, Queen Ingirid had a remarkable reproductive career. In her first marriage to a Danish prince, she bore three sons. Later, she married the Norwegian King Harald Gille with whom she had the son Inge. It was during this marriage that the episode with Ivar Sneis occurred. After Harald’s death, she was married briefly to Ottar Birting, who was killed, and finally to an important chieftain, Arne, who was regularly entitled the king’s relative by marriage (*konungsmágr*). With him, she had four children, among them the important Bishop Nicolas of Oslo. See Gathorne-Hardy, *A Royal Imposter*, 33 n. 1, on the timing of the affair with Ivar Sneis.

<sup>70</sup> A good study is Leif Tjersland, “Studier i Saga-ætter,” (Norsk) *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 31 (1937–40): 103–38, although he pays little attention to the women involved. On Orm, see 119.

<sup>71</sup> Snorri Sturluson, *Magnús saga Erlingssonar*, chap. 1, in *Heimskringla*, 3.

chances of his own son, whose claims—though tainted by descent through the female line—were still closer than the others, but it is noteworthy that the last two affinal candidates would be taken seriously. Further evidence that horizontal kinship ties were not simply used opportunistically by kings can be found in the inclusion of relatives in the royal milieu who were marred by physical or emotional defects. Hakon Olafson, a farmer's son, but maternal uncle to King Magnus Sigurdson, was kept at court by the king: "a most handsome man but not very bright."<sup>72</sup> By admitting all royal progeny to the succession and including affinal relatives in the ruling circle, kings created an ever-expanding network of candidates. While this practice may have had the beneficial effect of drawing leadership from a large genetic pool, it clearly did not foster political stability and peace.

LEGITIMACY IN ROYAL DESCENT EMERGED AS THE ANSWER to the major problem of succession—civil wars between many contenders for the throne. The principle had played at least a tacit role during the reign of Inge Haraldson in the middle decades of the twelfth century. Physically weak and thus unable to qualify as healthy in body and mind (*idoneus*), his almost-accidental legitimacy undoubtedly aided him against more powerful, illegitimate co-rulers and opponents. His reign is also the first time church leaders expressed preference for kings of legitimate birth. When Cardinal Nicholas came to Norway in 1152 to create the first Norwegian archbishopric, he befriended Inge and called him his son but was hostile toward his two half-brothers and co-rulers, Sigurd and Eystein.<sup>73</sup> In the following decade, legitimacy became the argument that assured Magnus Erlingson's acceptance and coronation. Magnus's father, Erling Skjalgson, had married Kristin, the legitimate daughter of King Sigurd Jerusalem-farer, and won the support of leading churchmen by arguing that, although he was not a king himself, his son received royal blood from his mother, and that both mother and son had been born in wedlock.<sup>74</sup> At Magnus's coronation, a law of succession was drawn up stipulating that the oldest legitimate son (*skilgetinn*) should inherit the throne.<sup>75</sup> Disregarded in the struggles between pretenders during the next half-century, the law was resurrected in a competition between two half-brothers, the legitimate Inge Bardson and the illegitimate Hakon Galen, nephews of King Sverre through their

<sup>72</sup> *Magnússona saga*, chap. 19; *Magnús saga blinda ok Haraldz gilla*, chap. 7. In the previous generation, Magnus the Good showed sympathetic attention to his half-brother Thor and even made provisions for him after his death, although Thor was clearly deficient, unable to answer for himself when taunted; see *Morkinskinna*, 109–10, 142–45; *Haraldz saga harðráða*, chaps. 18, 31.

<sup>73</sup> *Inga saga ok Sigurðar*, chap. 33.

<sup>74</sup> *Magnús saga Erlingssonar*, chap. 21. A serious rival to Magnus was Harald, the son of King Sigurd Haraldson, fathered on Kristin Sigurddaughter, Erling's wife, probably before her marriage to Erling. Since Harald could claim royal descent from both parents, Erling had him killed in spite of Magnus's intercession. *Magnús saga Erlingssonar*, chap. 30. On the connection between Harald's murder and the separation between Kristin and Erling, see Gathorne-Hardy, *A Royal Imposter*, 67–68.

<sup>75</sup> *Norges gamle Love*, 1: 3.

mother.<sup>76</sup> The archbishop negotiated a compromise allowing that the legitimate son of either of the two men would inherit the royal position, a decision that favored Hakon's legitimate son Knut over Inge's illegitimate Guthorm. In the end, however, Knut lost to another Hakon, the illegitimate grandson of Sverre.

Because of his illegitimate origins, Hakon had to obtain a papal letter of dispensation before his coronation.<sup>77</sup> But he apparently accepted the restrictions on his sexuality that legitimacy implied, because the sources tell of only two illegitimate children born before his marriage, although others, because they were excluded from the succession, may not have been reported. Hakon worked for the orderly succession of his family. The first Norwegian king to promote his lineage carefully, he groomed his sons to become monarchs and planned the marriages of all his children. Before a showdown with his rival Skule in 1240, Hakon had his eight-year-old son accepted as king, thus ignoring the older, illegitimate son Sigurd, born before his marriage to Skule's daughter Margret.<sup>78</sup> In 1251, the young Hakon was married to the Swedish princess Rikiza, and the king began to plan for the marriage of his younger son, Magnus, born in 1238.<sup>79</sup>

The year 1257 was crucial for King Hakon's program. Early in that year, he received a request from the king of Aragon to marry his daughter Kristin to one of the king's brothers. He summoned the young Hakon to discuss this important matter and learned the disastrous news that his son had died suddenly on 5 May. Upon consultation with the important churchmen of the country, the king forged ahead with the plan, equipped a ship, and dispatched Kristin to Spain by the end of the month. In the beginning of June, the king encouraged his advisers not to lose hope, since his youngest son Magnus remained a good candidate for future king. Magnus was accepted as king on 24 June, six weeks after the death of the older brother.<sup>80</sup> With only one son left, it may seem strange that Hakon was willing to send his daughter away and, in effect, cut off a possible branch of his own lineage.<sup>81</sup> But it was precisely the passing of the royal line from Sigurd Jerusalem-farer through his daughter Kristin to Magnus Erlingsson that had been the grievous fault of the previous generation. Erling Skjalgsson's attempt to stabilize the succession by crowning Magnus had only aggravated the mistake for which both Sverre and Hakon himself had blamed Erling and Magnus on several occasions.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>76</sup> On Inge Bardson's marriage, see Jochens, "Consent in Marriage." Magnus was less lucky than his contemporary, Henry II of England, and Svein Estridson of Denmark in the preceding century; both men were accepted as kings through their mothers.

<sup>77</sup> Letter from Pope Innocent IV, 1246, *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, 20 vols. (Kristiania, 1849–) 1: 29.

<sup>78</sup> *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chaps. 174, 187, 223, 225. An older son, Olaf, born in 1226, had apparently died; chap. 158. Hakon had used Sigurd earlier as a hostage by handing him over to Skule, when tension between the two began to mount. At Hakon's coronation, in 1247, Sigurd participated in the ceremony in an important but nevertheless secondary role to the young King Hakon; chap. 253.

<sup>79</sup> *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chaps. 194, 272.

<sup>80</sup> *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chaps. 287, 288, 290–92. The acceptance of Magnus now was as urgent as Hakon's in 1240, since the king was leaving immediately for an expedition against Denmark. On Kristin's marriage, see Jochens, "Consent in Marriage."

<sup>81</sup> The illegitimate Sigurd had died in 1254; *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chap. 282.

<sup>82</sup> *Sverris saga*, chaps. 38, 99, 112; *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chap. 247.



The speed with which Hakon negotiated his daughter's marriage after the death of his son might suggest that he was perfectly willing to part with this potential source of future pretenders. He placed her in a distant marriage where her children would remain with their paternal kin. In 1257, Hakon could still be sanguine about the future of his lineage, not only because Magnus looked promising but also because Hakon had a grandson of whom he was very fond, Sverre, the son of Hakon and Rikiza. When Sverre died in 1261, however, Hakon hurried the negotiations for the marriage of the remaining branch of his family tree.<sup>83</sup> The marital plans between Magnus and the Dane, Ingiborg, started ten years earlier, had been resuscitated before Sverre's death. Now, Bishop Hakon of Oslo virtually abducted the princess from a Danish nunnery, brought her to Norway, and quickly married her to Magnus on 11 September 1261. After having met the young woman, Hakon commented that he had always planned to welcome her warmly, but now he found her so "auspicious," or, more specifically, "marriageable" (*giptusamligr*), that he would grow more fond of her than he had imagined.<sup>84</sup> In this, he expressed not only a fifty-seven-year-old father's pleasure in a beautiful, young daughter-in-law but also relief in securing the future of his royal lineage. Ingiborg did not disappoint him, immediately becoming pregnant and giving birth to his grandson Olaf in the following year.<sup>85</sup>

Hakon's concern for the legitimacy of his lineage also received verbal formulation. In 1236, when tension between Hakon and Skule increased, Skule demanded that his illegitimate son Peter, whom he had recognized only a few years earlier, should inherit his part of the country after his death. Hakon refused in the strongest possible terms, declaring that none of his own offspring would inherit unless born of Queen Margret.<sup>86</sup>

Hakon refused, however, to proceed from an interest in legitimacy to the principle of primogeniture. During the years after the young Hakon had been accepted as king, and when Magnus was growing up, the archbishop had suggested a division of the country between the two young men in a way that made it clear that the older was king. But Hakon demurred, apparently preferring an equal division. After the young Hakon's death, King Hakon easily won support for having Magnus accepted as king. On this occasion, when the archbishop expressed his preference for primogeniture, the king pointed to the difficulty of distinguishing between his two sons, since they were "of equal birth" (*jafn-bornum*).<sup>87</sup> Eventually, both Magnus and his wife were crowned while the old king was still alive.<sup>88</sup> At the same time, a new succession law was enacted, securing the succession

<sup>83</sup> See *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chaps. 296, 303, 304, for the story of the boy's death. On the marriage negotiations, see Jochens, "Consent in Marriage."

<sup>84</sup> *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chap. 308; *Flateyjarbók*, 3: 211.

<sup>85</sup> *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chaps. 312–13. Olaf died young, but Ingiborg produced two other sons, Erik and Hakon.

<sup>86</sup> *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chaps. 164, 187.

<sup>87</sup> *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chaps. 284, 291.

<sup>88</sup> *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chap. 310.

automatically to the king's legitimate lineage and allowing only a third place to a bastard, after the legitimate son and grandson.<sup>89</sup>

With the future of his lineage secured, Hakon departed from Norway on an expedition against the Orkney Islands, where he died on 12 December 1263. On his deathbed, he was asked by the attending churchmen whether he knew of any other sons, if misfortune should befall Magnus, or whether they should look for his offspring in any other place. The king answered firmly that he had no other son but Magnus and no daughter unknown to the people.<sup>90</sup>

It is hard to imagine a greater contrast than that between Harald Fairhair in the tenth century, who used his sexual energies with abandon, creating, in Snorri Sturluson's imagery, the huge tree stretching its branches over all Norway, and Hakon Hakonson in the thirteenth century, who pruned and developed his lineage in the legal marriages of his children, producing in the end a single trunk through which succession progressed smoothly. On the occasion of Magnus Hakonson's death, in 1280, the *Oddaverja annáll* remarked that he was the first to have ruled Norway as king "without having incited envy" (*aufundzlaust*).<sup>91</sup> This achievement was largely the result of the new policy restricting succession to legitimate offspring, suggested by churchmen since the twelfth century, but first implemented by his father, Hakon Hakonson, in the mid-thirteenth.

NORWAY UNDERWENT A DEVELOPMENT IN ROYAL REPRODUCTION AND SUCCESSION different from that of other Germanic peoples on the Continent and in England. In a typical system of polygyny or other forms of multiple sexual encounters, a vast clan of contenders vied for power through violence, expansion of the kingdom, or joint rule. As stability increased, or as further divisions of the realm became politically and economically impractical, the *Sippe* was narrowed, first to legitimate children of former kings, but, eventually, to the *Geschlecht*, the lineage of a single branch of the family within which primogeniture held sway.<sup>92</sup>

The situation in Norway differs from this general picture on three counts. The early phase, when the abundance of candidates caused problems for the succession, lasted far longer than it did on the Continent. The source materials, it should be noted, are not available for every period. Apart from runic inscriptions, writing was introduced by churchmen; consequently, the first historical information comes from the transitional period between Christianity and paganism. The early centuries remain dark. It is clear, nevertheless, that Norway was still suffering in the twelfth century from problems that had troubled the Merovingians during the

<sup>89</sup> *Norges gamle Love*, 1: 263; 2: 309; 5: 18.

<sup>90</sup> *Hákonar saga Hákonarson*, chap. 329.

<sup>91</sup> Gustav Storm, *Islandske annaler* (Kristiania, 1888), 484. Because the succession laws of 1273, which decreed both that illegitimate sons be removed to the seventh place and that women could transmit the succession, and those of 1302, which allowed women to inherit, fall beyond the chronological scope of the narrative sources, they are not treated here.

<sup>92</sup> In Denmark, these results were achieved several times through the help of the church, which designated a martyred king, brother, or father of the reigning monarch as the *Spitzenahn*, progenitor of the current and future dynasty. Final success was reached in 1170 in the simultaneous celebration at Ringsted of the canonization of the murdered Knut Lavard, father of King Valdemar I, and the coronation of Valdemar's son, Knut; see the works by Erich Hoffmann listed in note 24.

sixth, and the Anglo-Saxons during the eighth. Second, the extensive travels of Scandinavian kings during the Viking age elevated paternity to a serious issue. Protracted love affairs or short liaisons abroad could import consequences into Norway that were felt for generations. This problem rarely occurred on the Continent.<sup>93</sup> Third, churchmen in Norway used the ordeal to test for paternity,<sup>94</sup> but, when the method proved inefficient and the procedure was simultaneously outlawed by the international church, it was abandoned, willingly, since the new principle of lineage was being established. The ordeal was last used in 1218 by Inga Varteig to assert the paternity of her son Hakon Hakonson.

For women, these changes signified that their procreative capabilities ceased to be commodities in a free market. No longer could a young woman exercise her charm and good looks to seduce a king and, if she produced a son, obtain preferment for herself, her offspring, and relations. We shall never know how actively and knowingly women pursued such plans, but it is likely that they were selected by the kings or offered by eager families. The acceptance of legitimate monogamy did not restrain kings from keeping concubines, and individual monarchs continued to be susceptible to youth and beauty. The women and their families, however, had less interest in becoming sexually involved. A short-term advantage as the king's concubine might remain for the individual woman, but the long-term gain—that of being permanently related to a new king—was lost. Fewer women were drawn into royal procreation. For those who remained, reproduction took place within the confines of marriage. Whether similar reproductive patterns existed in other classes in Norway lies open to speculation. Evidence of concubinage from Iceland suggests that the practice of multiple sexual partners remained common among Germanic aristocracy.<sup>95</sup> But the royal and ecclesiastical pattern of marriage and legitimacy must have transmitted reverberations throughout the Nordic world. How far it permeated the larger society awaits further investigation.

<sup>93</sup> Gundovald the Pretender is a rare exception among the Merovingians; see Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, 6.24; and Walter Goffart, "Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice: The Pretenders Hermenegild and Gundowald (579–585)," *Traditio*, 15 (1957): 73–118.

<sup>94</sup> Merovingian bishops and other leaders swore an oath that the boy born of Queen Fredegund after her husband's death was indeed his; this is a case of paternity but within marriage; see Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, 8.9.

<sup>95</sup> Jenny M. Jochens. "En Islande médiévale: A la recherche de la famille nucléaire," *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 40 (1985): 95–112.

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*Review Article*  
**America and Vietnam: The Debate Continues**

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GEORGE C. HERRING

R. B. Smith, **An International History of the Vietnam War: The Kennedy Strategy** (New York, 1985).

George McT. Kahin, **Intervention: How America Became Involved in Vietnam** (New York, 1986).

Gabriel Kolko, **Anatomy of a War: Vietnam, the United States, and the Modern Historical Experience** (New York, 1985).

WRITING IN THIS JOURNAL MORE THAN TEN YEARS AGO, Warren F. Kimball identified a pattern in the historiography of wars or diplomatic crises: a first stage in which official or semi-official history written during or soon after the event is challenged by revisionist accounts, often partisan in motivation and hypercritical in tone; a second stage comprised of scholarly responses to revisionism, often incorporating some revisionist arguments, followed in turn by a more scholarly form of revisionism; ultimately, after the dust has settled and passions subsided, a third stage of "eclectic synthesis."<sup>1</sup> The historiography of American involvement in the Vietnam war is following a variation of this pattern with some unusual twists. In the case of a war discredited long before it ended, the orthodox or, at least, generally accepted position was "revisionist" in the sense that it sharply attacked American intervention as unnecessary and even immoral and accused American leaders of deceiving the nation into an unwanted war. Thus, the first wave of revisionism that developed in the late 1970s ironically comprised a spirited and frequently emotional defense of the war and U.S. policy.<sup>2</sup>

The three books reviewed here belong to the second stage. Controversy persists, much as it did during the war, and passions still run high. The issues remain much the same, and positions have been modified only slightly, if at all. But the debate has increasingly moved into the realm of scholarship. These three lengthy

The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Professors Richard H. Immerman of the University of Hawaii and Warren F. Kimball of Rutgers University, Newark, who read an earlier version of this essay and offered numerous helpful suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> Warren F. Kimball, "The Cold War Warmed Over," *AHR*, 79 (October 1974): 1119.

<sup>2</sup> Major revisionist works include Guenter Lewy, *America in Vietnam* (New York, 1978); and Norman Podhoretz, *Why We Were in Vietnam* (New York, 1982). For useful critiques of revisionism, see Walter LaFeber, "The Last War, the Next War, and the New Revisionists," *democracy*, 1 (January 1981): 93–103; Paul M. Kattenburg, "Reflections on Vietnam: Of Revisionism and Lessons Yet to Be Learned," *Parameters*, 14 (Autumn 1984): 42–50; and George C. Herring, "The 'Vietnam Syndrome' and American Foreign Policy," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, 57 (Autumn 1981): 594–612.

accounts, totaling more than 1,500 pages, are based on a comprehensive array of sources. Each expands our knowledge of the war in important ways. They represent diverse points of view and, in that sense, continue the debate on the war, but the authors develop their arguments in much greater depth and with much greater sophistication than did earlier commentators.

The issues on which writers are now divided are essentially those that Americans debated during the war. A fundamental concern remains the nature of the war itself. Was it primarily a nationalist struggle, a civil war among Vietnamese, or did it owe as much or more to the cold war conflict between communism and democratic capitalism? How did it begin and who was responsible? Why did the United States make an enormous commitment in an area remote and seemingly insignificant, and can this commitment be defended on grounds of morality or national security? A final and especially controversial issue revolves around the outcome. Did the United States fail because it did not apply sufficient power or because it employed its power improperly, as conservative revisionists now argue? Was domestic dissent in the United States an important or even decisive factor in the outcome? Or was the war decided more by conditions in Vietnam than by what the United States did or did not do? Were these conditions in fact so intractable as to make the war unwinnable as far as the United States was concerned?

RALPH SMITH SEEKS TO PLACE EVENTS IN INDOCHINA in a broad international context. A specialist in Southeast Asia at the University of London, he applies, for the period from December of 1961 to March of 1965, a thesis originally developed in the first volume of a multi-volume series, namely, that the Vietnam war "was the product of a global pattern of conflict which must be analyzed in global terms."<sup>3</sup> Here, in Volume 2, he looks at each side in turn. On the U.S.–South Vietnamese side, he relies primarily on the *Pentagon Papers* and other standard printed sources. He uses Chinese, North Vietnamese, and Soviet radio broadcasts, as well as newspapers, pamphlets, and some captured North Vietnamese documents to analyze the Communist side. U.S. decisions on Vietnam are discussed in the context of world developments, especially events in Southeast Asia and most notably in Indonesia. Decisions the North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front made are discussed in the context of international communism, especially relations with the Soviet Union and China. Smith often discusses U.S. policies and actions in one chapter, Communist in the next.

Smith's arguments place him on the right of the political spectrum. He does not defend U.S. intervention on moral grounds, as conservative revisionists do, and his arguments are complex, in some places sophisticated, but the tone of the book is distinctly revisionist. He blames the war on North Vietnam and its allies, China and the Soviet Union. He defends U.S. escalation, and by implication at least,

<sup>3</sup> R. B. Smith, *An International History of the Vietnam War: The Kennedy Strategy* (New York, 1985), 3. The first volume was published as R. B. Smith, *An International History of the Vietnam War: Revolution versus Containment, 1955–1961* (New York, 1984).



suggests that it was not forceful enough. His handling of controversial issues such as the Tonkin Gulf incident best reveals his political bias.

Smith takes the cold war seriously. He does not attempt to revive the discredited notion of a Communist monolith, and he readily concedes that the Soviet Union and China did not instigate and could not control the war in Vietnam. But he ascribes to Hanoi, Peking, and Moscow greater unity of purpose and action than many scholars have allowed. He accepts at face value the postwar assertions of the Hanoi regime that it controlled and directed the revolution in South Vietnam from the outset. He concedes that Hanoi's decisions were not based on directives from Peking or Moscow, but he insists that North Vietnam could not have succeeded without assistance from its major allies and speculates that "in some cases the decisions of one Party may well have been predicated on those of another."<sup>4</sup> He even suggests that in 1964 there may have been "some kind of tacit understanding" between the Soviet Union and China by which the Russians pursued *détente* with the West while China pushed for revolution in Asia.<sup>5</sup> In any event, he insists, the United States gravely erred in viewing Moscow as indifferent to the struggle in Southeast Asia.

Smith defends U.S. intervention on grounds of *realpolitik*. He flatly rejects the liberal-dove argument that the commitment resulted from blind anticommunism or from a "self-imposed, purely bilateral obligation to defend South Vietnam."<sup>6</sup> Rather, he contends, the Communists posed a real challenge to the global position of the United States in the 1960s, and their intransigence left no way out of Vietnam for either President Kennedy or Johnson except on terms that would have amounted to surrender. He emphasizes the importance of Vietnam to Southeast Asia as a whole. The United States had vital and legitimate economic and strategic interests in the region, especially in Indonesia. South Vietnam was the "key link" in preserving those interests, and the purpose of U.S. policy was to "ensure sufficient stability in Indonesia and Malaysia—in the short as well as the longer term—to allow investment and economic growth to take place."<sup>7</sup>

To meet the threat to these interests, Kennedy began, in December of 1961, to implement a strategy of counterinsurgency. The purpose was to hold the line against Communist expansion in Vietnam while limiting the war to South Vietnam in order to demonstrate that a national liberation movement could be defeated without escalating the conflict into a larger war. The strategy worked well enough for the short run, and, by late 1962, the overall U.S. position in Southeast Asia was much improved. The long-range effect of counterinsurgency was the opposite of what Kennedy had intended, however. Instead of abandoning South Vietnam, North Vietnam (with Soviet and Chinese support) escalated the war, forcing Lyndon Johnson to do the same or risk the "loss" of Southeast Asia.

Smith's book stops just at the point where the Second Indochina War begins, and he does not directly address the reasons the United States ultimately failed. He

<sup>4</sup> Smith, *International History: The Kennedy Strategy*, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *International History: The Kennedy Strategy*, 17.

<sup>6</sup> Smith, *International History: The Kennedy Strategy*, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Smith, *International History: The Kennedy Strategy*, 143.

claims that the major purpose of his book is to determine why Kennedy's strategy of counterinsurgency did not work, but he never really answers the question beyond stating that it failed because the enemy was able to defeat it. In analyzing Johnson's policies, however, he aligns himself with conservative revisionists. Johnson's approach to the war brought the worst of all possible worlds, Smith claims. The bombing was "too big for Communist powers to ignore, yet too small to achieve a major impact on Hanoi."<sup>8</sup> "Unfortunately," he writes elsewhere, "from spring 1964 until the end of his Administration the level of military pressure which Johnson deemed appropriate was never adequate, at any time, to force Hanoi to negotiate on terms he could accept."<sup>9</sup> Smith also minimizes the likelihood that China would have intervened, and so, by implication, he agrees with hawks at the time and revisionists later that a larger and more effective escalation was both necessary and feasible.

Smith's emphasis on the international dimensions of the war is welcome. The conflict is too often discussed in a vacuum, with the focus exclusively on Washington or Hanoi. It is useful to place U.S. decisions in the context of events in Laos, Indonesia, Cuba, and Berlin. Soviet and Chinese support was important to North Vietnamese decisions and success. Smith produces some provocative interpretations. The support of the new Soviet government of Brezhnev and Kosygin in late 1964 was crucial to escalation of the war, he contends, because it made available to North Vietnam the military technology it had to have in a war with the United States. Despite U.S. impressions to the contrary, Smith argues persuasively, China preferred at this stage to keep the war limited to South Vietnam, but it could not restrain its ally without appearing to be less supportive than its Soviet rival. Thus, the Sino-Soviet split was an important factor in the emergence of a larger war.

Smith often strains his limited evidence past the breaking point to prove his thesis of international connections. Without providing documentation, he suggests that Peking may have encouraged the North Vietnamese to mount the attacks that led to the Tonkin Gulf incident. Similarly, he speculates that, in early 1965, Moscow encouraged the North Vietnamese to launch the raids that provoked Johnson to authorize the bombing of North Vietnam on a regular basis, which permitted the Soviets to appear to be responding to U.S. aggression. Again and again, Smith resorts to argument by innuendo. He admits there is no evidence for the second alleged attack in the Tonkin Gulf on 4 August 1964, but he goes on to insist that "it is impossible for the historian to dismiss it out of hand." Arguing on the basis of flimsy evidence that the first incident was deliberately provoked by Hanoi to keep tensions high, he contends that this "makes a second communist initiated incident highly credible."<sup>10</sup>

If Smith demonstrates the importance of studying the Communist side, he also makes clear how frustrating it is. His repeated use of qualification—"it appears,"

<sup>8</sup> Smith, *International History: The Kennedy Strategy*, 378.

<sup>9</sup> Smith, *International History: The Kennedy Strategy*, 272. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>10</sup> Smith, *International History: The Kennedy Strategy*, 297.

“almost certainly,” “in all probability,” “it may have been”—suggests the enormous problem in drawing firm conclusions about “the other side.” The book delivers much less than it promises. Smith is fascinated with time lines, watersheds, and turning points. He finds too much congruity in disparate and unconnected events, and he often imposes order where none exists. In the crucial issues, his modified revisionism is no more convincing than the unqualified variety. He accepts without question the legitimacy of U.S. involvement, and he virtually ignores the existence of widespread non-Communist opposition to the Diem government in South Vietnam. He readily accepts North Vietnamese claims to have directed the revolution in the south, ignoring the differences between northern and southern revolutionaries and between Hanoi and the National Liberation Front.

GEORGE MCT. KAHIN's *Intervention: How America Became Involved in Vietnam* differs with Smith on virtually every fundamental issue. This book is based on exhaustive research in newly declassified U.S. documents, and those of us who work in the field are deeply indebted to Kahin for securing the declassification of thousands of documents on Vietnam through the Freedom of Information Act in that short period when it was working reasonably well. Kahin has supplemented these documentary sources by interviews with numerous Vietnamese, including Buddhist leaders and former National Liberation Front officials. A distinguished Southeast Asian specialist, Kahin has been intimately involved with Vietnam for three decades, and *Intervention* is richly detailed and profusely documented.

Kahin analyzes in depth the major American decisions between 1945 and 1965, going beyond the *Pentagon Papers* and providing what may well be the authoritative account of U.S. escalation. In contrast to Smith, he plays down the North Vietnamese role in the origins of the Second Indochina War, a stance that makes a significant commentary on his assumptions, but his analysis of the South Vietnamese dimension of the emerging conflict sheds much light on an area that has long remained *terra incognita* to Americans. Kahin's position on the war has not changed substantially. His book *America in Vietnam* (co-authored with John Lewis) was a bible for opponents of the war in the 1970s, and he is now, as he was then, a vigorous and unrelenting exponent of the antiwar position.

In contrast to Smith, Kahin emphasizes the indigenous roots of the war. He minimizes to the point of exclusion the role of the Soviet Union and China. In the face of evidence made available since the end of the war, he retreats somewhat from the position he took in 1969 that the insurgency originated in the south at southern initiative and retained a considerable degree of independence from Hanoi. He concedes that the two “partook of the same nationalism,” and that, “in the most fundamental sense,” the National Liberation Front was subordinate to the party organization in Hanoi. But he insists that Hanoi's postwar claims to have directed the revolution from the outset have been inflated to meet its present needs—there is thus, he notes, an ironic and “striking convergence” of views between postwar revisionists in the United States and Vietnam. He continues to argue that the revolution erupted spontaneously in the south in the late 1950s and

was supported only hesitantly and belatedly by the North Vietnamese. And he contends that differences persisted between the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam and indeed between southerners and northerners on the Central Committee in Hanoi.<sup>11</sup> He appears to believe, although he does not say it outright, that, in the absence of U.S. intervention or with greater U.S. flexibility, there was the possibility for an autonomous and neutralist South Vietnam.

Kahin attacks U.S. intervention on moral and strategic grounds. Vietnam was never of more than peripheral importance to the security of the United States, he contends. Economic interests were significant only to the extent that Vietnam was seen as a barrier to Chinese expansion into areas like Indonesia that, at times, were deemed important. Kahin stresses as the major causes of U.S. intervention the virulent anticommunism that gripped U.S. policymakers in the 1950s and 1960s, swollen estimates of global interests, concern that the “loss” of Vietnam, like China, might have disastrous political consequences domestically, and a pervasive fear among top policymakers of national and personal humiliation. He also persuasively refutes Leslie Gelb’s and Daniel Ellsberg’s thesis that American presidents acted from a position of weakness and sought only to keep South Vietnam afloat until the next election.<sup>12</sup> An abiding confidence in American power and a blind faith in success dictated major escalations.

Kahin offers a ringing response to those revisionists who have attributed U.S. failure to flawed military strategies or a lack of will. The essential reason the United States failed at each stage of its escalation, he insists, was that its efforts to sustain a client regime in Saigon ran up against the “tidal political force” of Vietnamese nationalism. History bequeathed the United States a flimsy base on which to build a government in South Vietnam, and the United States was able to do little more than construct an artificial society totally dependent on a continued inflow of American dollars. North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front, by contrast, displayed great “courage and stamina” in standing up against what “in the annals of warfare was an unprecedented tonnage of bombs and napalm.”<sup>13</sup> Kahin deplores the massive and destructive use of U.S. power in what amounted to “an unprecedented effort to shape and control a country’s political power.”<sup>14</sup> He is certain that the greater use of force would only have caused more destruction, and he contends that Johnson’s fears of Chinese intervention were well founded.

Kahin makes many important contributions. He has presented new evidence on American aid to France during the First Indochina War and makes clear that this aid was much greater than has been previously recognized. In many accounts of U.S. escalation, the Eisenhower administration has escaped censure, and President Eisenhower has been widely praised for not intervening in Vietnam at the time of the Dienbienphu crisis. Kahin argues persuasively that, in making commitments

<sup>11</sup> George McT. Kahin, *Intervention: How America Became Involved in Vietnam* (New York, 1986), 120–21. For comparison, see George McTurnan Kahin and John W. Lewis, *The United States in Vietnam*, rev. edn. (New York, 1969), 110–20.

<sup>12</sup> The Gelb-Ellsberg thesis is in Leslie Gelb and Richard K. Betts, *The Irony of Vietnam: The System Worked* (Washington, D.C., 1978); and in Daniel Ellsberg, *Papers on the War* (New York, 1972), 47–135.

<sup>13</sup> Kahin, *Intervention*, 249, 399.

<sup>14</sup> Kahin, *Intervention*, ix.

to the Diem regime in 1954 and 1955, the Eisenhower administration “moved assertively in a much more fundamental phase of intervention, and in doing so staked American honor and prestige on a policy that, once undertaken, was difficult to reverse.”<sup>15</sup> He provides an excellent analysis of the U.S. nation-building program in the late 1950s, especially the Commercial Import Program. He offers a fresh and generally convincing account of the so-called Pentagon Coup, which brought Nguyen Khanh to power in early 1964, demonstrating that U.S. involvement was much deeper than has been thought and may even have been decisive. He is superb on politics in South Vietnam and highly informative on such things as the Buddhist struggle movement. Perhaps surprisingly, he is sympathetic toward Lyndon Johnson, portraying him as a man of great caution, the victim of commitments he had not made, swept along by forces he could not control.

In all respects the best of the three books reviewed here, Kahin’s account is in some ways disappointing. The long discussion of U.S. escalation between January, 1964 and August, 1965 constitutes more than half the book but adds remarkably little to what was already known. The emphasis of the book, curiously, is on U.S. policy, which is not the author’s primary area of expertise, and one wishes he had devoted more attention to the Vietnamese side, about which he writes with great authority.

In terms of his stated purpose—to explain how the United States intervened—Kahin succeeds admirably, but his restricted focus results in an account as incomplete in its own way as that of Smith. The National Liberation Front and especially the North Vietnamese are virtually invisible in these pages, and, when mentioned, they are normally reacting to moves by the United States. Kahin fails to note steps taken by Hanoi in 1957 and 1959 to gain control of events in the south. He contends that America’s initiation of the bombing and introduction of ground troops in early 1965 removed the constraints that had prevented North Vietnam from sending its own troops to the south. There is evidence to indicate, however, that North Vietnam decided to escalate the war as early as the end of 1963, and that it began to send regular units to the south as early as October, 1964.<sup>16</sup> Finally, Kahin makes the Communists seem more amenable to negotiations than they probably were.

By saying little about the Vietnamese and pinning exclusive responsibility on the United States, Kahin weakens an otherwise impressive argument. It is true that U.S. intervention was misguided, and that Hanoi, by virtue of its victory in the First Indochina War, had legitimate claims to national control. Still, to focus almost exclusively on the United States distorts the record. Had the Soviets and Chinese not supported North Vietnam, the war might not have escalated. Had it not escalated, the United States might have acted differently. It could even be argued that, like many other wars, the Second Indochina War began from monumental miscalculations on both sides. William Duiker has suggested that the North

<sup>15</sup> Kahin, *Intervention*, 92.

<sup>16</sup> On this point, see William J. Duiker, *The Communist Road to Power in Vietnam* (Boulder, Colo., 1981), 221–33.



Vietnamese escalated in 1964 on the gamble that, in South Vietnam as earlier in China, the United States would not send its own forces to uphold a client government. Most scholars agree Johnson went to war in 1965 with the expectation that Hanoi would not be able to stand up against American power.<sup>17</sup>

EVEN MORE THAN KAHIN, in *Anatomy of a War: Vietnam, the United States, and the Modern Historical Experience*, Gabriel Kolko still unabashedly articulates the views he developed in the 1960s, the radical critique of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. He has drawn some of his material from visits to Vietnam and discussions with “virtually hundreds of people who played every conceivable role in the war,” but his footnotes reveal his reliance on an impressive range of standard historical sources, published and unpublished, American, French, and Vietnamese.<sup>18</sup> Unlike the other two books, Kolko’s work is comprehensive, covering the entire war from 1945 to 1975 and evaluating the reasons for its outcome as well as its causes. To Kolko, ideology is more important than methodology and documentation. War, in his view, is at root a “struggle between competing social systems,” and his neo-Marxian analysis is heavily weighted on the socioeconomic side.<sup>19</sup> The book is truly sweeping in scope and analyzes in depth the strategies, institutions, and social systems of the three principals: what he calls “the Revolution,” comprising North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front, South Vietnam, and the United States. One of the book’s major contributions is the detailed examination of the South Vietnamese economy, society, and political structure, matters too often neglected by American scholars but crucial to the outcome of the war.

With regard to the origins of the war, Kolko does not concern himself with the distinctions that Smith and Kahin debate. The various conflicts in Indochina were all part of a single revolutionary process. The Communist party was the instrument of that revolution, sometimes urging the people on, more often than not responding to their wishes. Relations between the revolution and the major Communist powers were “subtle and infinitely complex,” he writes. It was often difficult for the Soviet Union and China to resolve the tensions between their national interests and ideological commitments, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam used “acute analysis” and “brilliant finesse” to maneuver between its two allies and exploit their divisions to secure maximum aid.<sup>20</sup>

In discussing the reasons for U.S. intervention, Kolko agrees with Smith that the raw materials and markets of Southeast Asia were important to the United States, but, he argues, the key to U.S. policy was credibility, the “hypnotic justification which united virtually all those who shaped fundamental policy.”<sup>21</sup> Minimizing

<sup>17</sup> Duiker, *Communist Road to Power*, 226.

<sup>18</sup> Gabriel Kolko, *Anatomy of a War: Vietnam, the United States, and the Modern Historical Experience* (New York, 1985), xv.

<sup>19</sup> Kolko, *Anatomy of a War*, 5.

<sup>20</sup> Kolko, *Anatomy of a War*, 401–11.

<sup>21</sup> Kolko, *Anatomy of a War*, 164.

policy differences among the various participants and the importance of personality in shaping policy, he sees U.S. involvement in Vietnam as a “natural outcome of the logic and objectives of its role in the modern era.” The “major inheritor of the mantle of imperialism in modern history,” the United States acted not to defend a threat to its welfare but because it “sought a controllable responsive order elsewhere, one that would permit the political destinies of distant places to evolve in a manner beneficial to American goals and interests far surpassing the immediate needs of its domestic society.”<sup>22</sup> Maintaining credibility in Vietnam was essential to that end. Like Smith, Kolko takes the U.S. rationale for intervention seriously; unlike Smith, he sees it as counterrevolutionary and destructive and questions its legitimacy. Kolko holds the United States exclusively responsible for the war, as does Kahin. “It was for the United States . . . to resolve whether there would be war or peace in Vietnam,” Kolko claims.<sup>23</sup>

In contrast to the other two books, *Anatomy of a War* goes through the end of the conflict, and Kolko provides the fullest explanation of the outcome. He agrees with revisionists that U.S. strategy was fundamentally flawed, but there the similarity ends. The basic problem, he contends, was the inability of the United States “to fight a cheap war or to afford a long expensive one.”<sup>24</sup> Never comprehending the social forces at work but commanding an abundance of wealth and resources, U.S. leaders persistently relied on technology to compensate for political failure. They “unleashed the greatest flood of firepower against a nation known to history,” causing in Vietnam “monumental” human suffering and social and economic dislocation.<sup>25</sup> This strategy proved prohibitively expensive, however, and by 1968 it was taking a heavy toll on the American economy, producing irresistible pressures for withdrawal.

While revisionists have focused on American failure—thereby challenging the view that the war was unwinnable—Kolko properly and persuasively emphasizes the Vietnamese dimension. The contrast he draws between the strength of the revolution and the weakness of the U.S. client state in South Vietnam is, though overstated, basically accurate. Lacking resources, the party had to rely on strategy. Its leaders perceived that people, not technology, made up the “core of the military art,” and they acutely analyzed the balance of forces, effectively exploiting their own strengths and the enemy’s weaknesses.<sup>26</sup> They retained the strategic and tactical initiative and kept U.S. and South Vietnamese forces dispersed and on the defensive. The North Vietnamese government mobilized the people as the South Vietnamese government never could. The People’s Army of Vietnam’s (PAVN) great strength was its mobility and flexibility, based, Kolko says, on the popular will.

The U.S. defeat was not, in the final analysis, primarily a defeat of arms but the result of failure to create a viable alternative to the National Liberation Front, and Kolko breaks new ground in analyzing the reasons for this failure. He explores the

<sup>22</sup> Kolko, *Anatomy of a War*, 72.

<sup>23</sup> Kolko, *Anatomy of a War*, 111.

<sup>24</sup> Kolko, *Anatomy of a War*, 291.

<sup>25</sup> Kolko, *Anatomy of a War*, 200.

<sup>26</sup> Kolko, *Anatomy of a War*, 146–49, 182–87.

problem of land tenure, and the social and economic disruptions caused by U.S. military actions. He probes the sources of the endemic corruption that made the system work and limited its effectiveness. He looks at the political machinery that Nguyen Van Thieu created and the chronic problems that afflicted the Army of the Republic of Vietnam. Kolko concludes that South Vietnam's leadership "was just a reflection of the crisis of Vietnamese society in this century and of the absence of a stable foundation for an indigenous ruling class. Dependent entirely on U.S. money and troops, it was now locked into a social transformation of a nation for which the only solution was a continuation of vast American subsidies and the American military presence."<sup>27</sup>

Kolko is saying, of course, that the superior social system won, and he minces no words in assessing the importance of the outcome. He concludes, in a flight of hyperbole, that the Vietnam war was more important for the United States than were World Wars I and II because it "exposed the ultimate constraints on its power in the modern era, its internal tensions, the contradictions between overinvolvement in one nation and its interests and ambitions elsewhere, and its material limits."<sup>28</sup> In contrast, the superior strategy developed by the Communists provides lessons to all those who challenge the United States in its "self-appointed counterrevolutionary mission in the Third World." The war confirmed the "awesome potential of men and women to define their own future against overwhelming opposition."<sup>29</sup> Presumably, similar American efforts elsewhere will meet the same fate.

Kolko's book is fundamentally flawed. It is painfully long, its prose turgid and repetitious. The last half of it, covering the period after the Tet Offensive, adds little that is new, and in general it is not as provocative as Kolko's earlier works, perhaps because the radical position on the war has already been fully articulated.

Kolko is forthright about his bias. He concedes his enthusiasm for "autonomous social development in the Third World" and admits that he "fully welcomed" Vietnam's success over the United States. But his claim that his partisanship does not stand in the way of "objective scholarship" is at best naive, at worst disingenuous.<sup>30</sup> He itemizes in great detail the countless "dark deeds" committed by the United States and South Vietnam while glossing over North Vietnamese and Vietcong atrocities. Local party activists sometimes became overzealous and violated orders, he says. In any event, "revolutionary morality did not require sainthood."<sup>31</sup> Throughout the book, he waxes lyrical about the glories of the revolution, while portraying the United States and its South Vietnamese clients as stupid and evil. Sometimes this contrast reaches ludicrous extremes, as when he uses the culinary accomplishments of the PAVN to demonstrate its institutional superiority.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Kolko, *Anatomy of a War*, 296.

<sup>28</sup> Kolko, *Anatomy of a War*, 545–48.

<sup>29</sup> Kolko, *Anatomy of a War*, 557.

<sup>30</sup> Kolko, *Anatomy of a War*, xiv.

<sup>31</sup> Kolko, *Anatomy of a War*, 537.

<sup>32</sup> "Among the captured or deserting revolutionary soldiers," he writes, "praise for the cooking was always high. Preparation of especially delicious meals before offensives was common, and even during combat good food was frequently available"; Kolko, *Anatomy of a War*, 257. This would certainly come as news to those soldiers who survived on such delicacies as jungle moths and dog and monkey meat.

On a number of important points, he is just plain wrong. For example, the Vietminh did not control 60 to 90 percent of the territory of southern Vietnam before the Geneva Conference. And it cannot be unequivocally established that the primary objective of the North Vietnamese Tet Offensive was to influence public opinion in the United States.<sup>33</sup>

Kolko is right in stressing the Vietnamese sources of American failure but wrong in the reasons he gives. North Vietnam's victory was less the product of its social system than of the iron will, fanatical determination, and organizational skills of its leaders, its superior strategy, and the threat to its survival that made possible the extraordinary mobilization of its people.<sup>34</sup> The skeptic, moreover, does not have to accept the central arguments of revisionism to ask, in light of the Kolko thesis, what has happened to the revolution since 1975 to bring about the party's dismal postwar failure and its atrocious human rights record. It is an issue he never raises.

BECAUSE OF THE SPECIFIC EMPHASIS, LIMITATION OF SCOPE OR TOPIC, AND BIAS in each of these books, none of them provides an entirely satisfactory account of a complex and controversial topic. Smith overstates the importance of international factors in the origins of the Second Indochina War and, by virtually ignoring those local forces that were ultimately decisive, leaves a distorted picture of the dynamics of the conflict. Minimizing the role of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front, Kahin weakens an otherwise excellent analysis of American intervention. Despite his claims to the contrary, Kolko permits ideology and revolutionary enthusiasm to triumph over scholarship.

Taken together, these books move only a step beyond the contemporary debate, a common occurrence, it should be added, in the writing of the history of major conflicts. Twelve years after V-J Day, at a comparable point in the development of World War II historiography, Wayne S. Cole observed that the debate among historians on American entry into that war was to a considerable degree an extension of the pre-war debate on American intervention. "Writers of history have not only dealt with the same basic subject and issues," Cole noted, "but have also used the same arguments, made the same fundamental assumptions, advanced similar hypotheses."<sup>35</sup> Indeed, as Cole pointed out, many of the historians had been participants in the contemporary debate, and that is true in the case of two of the three authors reviewed here. In 1983, Fox Butterfield identified a major characteristic of what he called "the new Vietnam scholarship"—portrayal of the war as "more complex, more morally ambiguous, than either the

<sup>33</sup> For more reliable estimates of Vietminh strength prior to Geneva, see Duiker, *Communist Road to Power*, 164–65; and James Pinckney Harrison, *The Endless War* (New York, 1982), 124–26. Informed speculation about the motives for the Tet Offensive can be found in Robert Shaplen, *Time Out of Hand* (New York, 1970), 395–406; and Duiker, *Communist Road to Power*, 263–65.

<sup>34</sup> Duiker, *Communist Road to Power*, 322–29.

<sup>35</sup> Wayne S. Cole, "American Entry into World War II: A Historiographical Appraisal," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 42 (March 1957): 600–01.

doves or hawks maintained.”<sup>36</sup> If moral ambiguity is a touchstone, the books reviewed here obviously belong as much to the debate at the time of the war as to Kimball’s second stage of scholarly dialogue.

These books also make clear that scholars are still sharply divided on Vietnam, and their divisions mirror deeper ideological and emotional conflicts among elite groups in the United States and across the world.<sup>37</sup> To a certain extent, of course, historians are never entirely able to shed the intellectual and emotional baggage that develops from the event itself. It is especially difficult to do so when the historical debate is closely linked with current foreign policy debates. It may be many years before Vietnam moves out of the realm of politics and into the realm of history. Kimball’s “eclectic synthesis” seems unlikely to emerge until a generation comes along unaffected by Vietnam or until some major event replaces Vietnam as the watershed in American foreign policy. Such a synthesis may mean, as Kimball suggests, an effort to “approach the golden mean by extracting arguments and conclusions from all sides.”<sup>38</sup> In the case of Vietnam, it is not likely to mean consensus or the end of debate.

“Ten years after the end of the war,” Ronald H. Spector recently observed, “our knowledge of the Vietnam conflict is still incomplete and profoundly confused.”<sup>39</sup> Many crucial sources remain unavailable.<sup>40</sup> Many vital topics remain uninvestigated. There is sharp disagreement, Spector noted, even on relatively simple and straightforward questions. It is both noteworthy and disturbing that historians have so far contributed relatively little to the study of the war, leaving the field to journalists, and there does not appear to be a great amount of research underway.<sup>41</sup>

A full agenda awaits those willing to take up the challenge. Recent works by William Duiker, David Marr, Douglas Pike, and Timothy Lomperis make clear what can be done with the Vietnamese sources now available, and there is a crying need for detailed, careful, and dispassionate analysis of the origins and conduct of the war from the side of the North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front.<sup>42</sup> Smith’s study suggests the importance of a thorough assessment of North Vietnam’s relations with its major allies. We now have a reasonably clear picture of how the United States got into Vietnam. We need more detailed and searching

<sup>36</sup> Fox Butterfield, “The New Vietnam Scholarship,” *New York Times Magazine* (13 February 1983): 28.

<sup>37</sup> For an excellent analysis of the divisions among American leadership groups on Vietnam and the ways in which these divisions reflect broader and conflicting “belief systems,” see Ole R. Holsti and James N. Rosenau, *American Leadership in World Affairs: Vietnam and the Breakdown of Consensus* (Boston, 1984).

<sup>38</sup> Kimball, “Cold War Warmed Over,” 1119.

<sup>39</sup> Ronald H. Spector, “What Did You Do in the War, Professor?,” *American Heritage* (December 1986): 101.

<sup>40</sup> Useful introductions to available sources are Ronald H. Spector, *Researching the Vietnam Experience* (Washington, D.C., 1984); and George C. Herring, “Sources for Understanding the Vietnam Conflict,” *Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Newsletter*, 16 (March 1985): 8–30.

<sup>41</sup> On these points, see Spector, “What Did You Do in the War?,” 102; and Sandra C. Taylor, “Reporting History: Journalists and the Vietnam War,” *Reviews in American History*, 13 (September 1985): 452–53.

<sup>42</sup> Duiker, *Communist Road to Power*; David Marr, *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982); Douglas Pike, *PAVN: People’s Army of Vietnam* (Novato, Calif., 1985); and Timothy J. Lomperis, *The War Everyone Lost—and Won* (Baton Rouge, La., 1984).



analysis of why. We need, for the period after 1954, studies comparable to those of Michael Schaller and Andrew Rotter, which place decisions on Vietnam in the context of America's regional and global policies, thus helping to clarify why Vietnam assumed an importance out of all proportion to its intrinsic worth.<sup>43</sup> We need a better understanding of why American leaders have been obsessed with credibility since World War II.<sup>44</sup> In terms of the actual conduct of the war, most of the focus thus far has been on the formulation of strategy and the conduct of military operations. It is to be hoped that Kolko's book will spur closer analysis of the political, social, and economic questions that may be more important. Studies are urgently needed based on the sort of cross-cultural expertise that characterizes the work of Bruce Cumings on the Korean war and Michael Hunt and Akira Iriye on Chinese-American and Japanese-American relations, respectively.<sup>45</sup>

The books reviewed here mark a start in the right direction. If they owe much to the earlier debate, they also depart from it in important ways. They are among the first works to be done by historians using a wide range of sources and historical methods. In terms of the sources used, detail presented, and sophistication of the argument, they meet the tests of Butterfield's "new Vietnam scholarship." All three make major contributions. Kahin provides an authoritative account of the evolution of the American commitment, a convincing explanation of the causes of American involvement, and often profound insight into the way in which U.S. intervention affected South Vietnamese politics. Kolko will be the point of departure for future discussion of Vietnamese politics and society. Smith reminds us, however imperfectly, that decisions made in Hanoi, Moscow, and Peking had important consequences. Perhaps the principal lesson of these books for a frequently insular American reading public is their message that the war cannot be understood apart from its Vietnamese origins and dynamics or its international dimension. It can be hoped these books will stimulate additional work that will take us to a new level of analysis, ultimately producing a clearer and fuller understanding of America's longest and most controversial war.

<sup>43</sup> Michael Schaller, "Securing the Great Crescent: Occupied Japan and the Origins of Containment in Southeast Asia," *Journal of American History*, 69 (September 1982): 392–414; and Andrew Rotter, "The Triangular Route to Vietnam: The United States, Great Britain, and Southeast Asia, 1945–1950," *International History Review*, 6 (August 1984): 404–23.

<sup>44</sup> On this point, see the commentary by John L. Gaddis in *Second Indochina War Symposium: Papers and Commentary*, John Schlight, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1986), 91–96.

<sup>45</sup> Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War: Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes, 1945–1947* (Princeton, N.J., 1981); Michael H. Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914* (New York, 1983); and Akira Iriye, *Power and Culture: The Japanese-American War* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981). Lomperis, *War Everyone Lost*, does this as well as anyone writing to date and offers a number of provocative interpretations.

## Trotsky Papers at the Hoover Institution: One Chapter of an Archival Mystery Story

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DALE REED and MICHAEL JAKOBSON

SCHOLARS HAVE LONG KNOWN THAT PAPERS OF LEON TROTSKY were held at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, and at the International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam. A third major site must now be added. Thirty linear feet of the papers of Trotsky and his son, Lev Sedov, have been discovered in the Boris I. Nicolaevsky Collection in the Archives of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University.

Nicolaevsky (1887–1966) devoted his life to the accumulation of valuable papers and rare printed items that document the history of European and, especially, Russian socialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. After coming to the United States in 1940, he sold his large collection to the Hoover Institution in 1963. He remained as curator of the collection until his death, and his widow, Anna Bourguina, succeeded him as curator. While researchers have used the Nicolaevsky Collection extensively and recognized it as an outstanding source of manuscript materials on modern Russian history, it was only after the death of Bourguina in 1982, and after the acquisition of grant funds from the National Endowment for the Humanities, that the Archives staff could undertake a comprehensive arrangement and description of the materials. This account of the Trotsky-Sedov Papers results from that work.<sup>1</sup> Although the Trotsky papers at the Hoover Institution are only one part of a fragmented whole, they nevertheless constitute an exceptionally important new historical source.

The Hoover Institution holds papers of Trotsky and Sedov from the period of Trotsky's exile from the Soviet Union (1929–40). They include extensive drafts of over 500 books, articles, and circular letters written by Trotsky, amounting to a substantial manuscript record of most of his major and many of his minor writings from 1929 to 1936. The papers also contain substantial correspondence, reports, photographs, the writings of others, and office files. These papers are richer for

<sup>1</sup> For a survey of the history of the Trotsky archives, as it was known at the time, see Jean van Heijenoort, "The History of Trotsky's Papers," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 28 (July 1980): 291–98. The announcement of the Hoover Institution's acquisition of the Nicolaevsky Collection (*New York Times*, 22 December 1963) mentioned the inclusion of papers of Trotsky but gave no details. These were forthcoming only when Bourguina's inventory of the Trotsky-Sedov Papers became publicly available in 1982. Pierre Broué and Jean van Heijenoort subsequently furnished assistance in detailed processing of portions of the papers.

the first half of the exile period than the second. Precisely the opposite is true of the papers at Harvard, so that a certain complementarity exists between them.

The Trotsky holdings at Harvard nevertheless remain the largest and most important. From the pre-exile period, the Harvard collection includes almost 3,000 letters (dated 1917–29, with the majority from 1927–29) and significant manuscripts of writings (mainly from 1926–29). The exile period is represented by over 17,000 items, including voluminous correspondence, substantial writings, and exhibits prepared for the Dewey Commission investigation of 1937. The International Institute for Social History at Amsterdam holds copies made by Trotsky from Soviet archives of 800 letters, telegrams, orders, minutes, and other documents from the Civil War period (1917–22), including much correspondence between Trotsky and V. I. Lenin. These materials have been published.<sup>2</sup> In addition, duplicates exist at Harvard. The description of other Trotsky papers in Amsterdam has yet to be made public.

Besides the Trotsky papers in these three repositories, Trotsky letters may be found elsewhere, notably in the Max Eastman Papers in the Lilly Library, Indiana University, which contain a number of original letters, other pertinent correspondence, and the manuscript of Eastman's English translation of *The Revolution Betrayed*. Among the many archival materials collected by Boris Nicolaevsky are the papers of a number of individuals who corresponded with Trotsky. Approximately ninety original Trotsky letters are scattered among archival groups outside the Trotsky-Sedov Papers but still under the Nicolaevsky Collection umbrella. Although most of these are from the exile period, the earliest is dated 1904. In many cases, of course, carbon copies of original Trotsky letters will be found in one or another of the Trotsky Archives proper.

Scholars will be especially interested in the Hoover Institution's holdings of manuscripts of works by Trotsky for which no other manuscripts are known to exist. The most significant work is undoubtedly *History of the Russian Revolution* (1931). The only known drafts of this historical classic occupy more than ten linear feet of shelf space at the Hoover Institution. The first volume is represented by a single draft, evidently intermediate between the missing first and last drafts. The manuscripts for the second volume of the Russian edition (corresponding to the second and third volumes of the English edition) appear to contain a complete record of composition from first effort to finished product and thus illustrate Trotsky's method of work. As a rule, Trotsky began by collecting quotations, which he glued into long sequences with intervening blank spaces for commentary and paraphrase. Preliminary drafts resembled scrolls produced by governmental agencies in medieval Russia. Trotsky made three drafts of most chapters. Some segments, either those of unusual polemical importance, such as the introduction to the second volume and the appendix "Socialism in a Separate Country?" or those dealing with events with which Trotsky's first-hand experience was slight, such as the chapter "The Peasantry before October," were reworked more often.

<sup>2</sup> *The Trotsky Papers, 1917–1922*, ed. and annotated by Jan M. Meijer, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1964, 1971).

The most remarkable portion of the manuscript, however, is the 1.5 linear feet containing drafts of chapters omitted from the published version of *History of the Russian Revolution*. The single most important item in this category is a finished chapter, "Soglashateli" (The Compromisers), which deals with the abortive Kerenskii-Krasnov counterrevolution of November, 1917. Although it is written with the same skill and wit characteristic of Trotsky's best work, the chapter is anticlimactic after the stirring account of the second All-Russian Congress of Soviets that concludes the published version of the book. This is doubtless the reason for its omission. Also of major interest are the numerous substantial fragments of writings that do not appear in the book. Some of these take up the narrative thread of revolutionary events in Moscow and other cities and regions outside Petrograd in November, 1917. Other fragments focus on relations of the Soviet government with the army, bureaucracy, church, and trade unions at that time. Together, "Soglashateli" and the fragments constitute prospectuses for a continuation that Trotsky planned but ultimately abandoned.

Other major works represented only at the Hoover Institution by manuscripts are *What Next?* (1932) and *The Only Road* (1932), the two most substantial of Trotsky's writings on the rise of fascism in Germany, which contain trenchant critiques of the German Communist and Social Democratic parties; and *War and the Fourth International* (1934), an analysis of forces leading toward renewed world war.

The manuscripts of Trotsky's writings in exile are divided somewhat arbitrarily between Harvard and the Hoover Institution Archives. In some cases, this division affects drafts of the same work. The Hoover Institution, for example, holds drafts of many of the early chapters of *My Life* (1930), as well as of a few of the later chapters. Harvard also has substantial drafts of *My Life* but only from the part dealing with post-1914 events. The manuscripts of *Whither France?* (1934), *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936), and *Stalin's Crimes* (1937) are divided between the two repositories. Harvard holds extensive drafts of two uncompleted works by Trotsky: his projected biographies of Lenin and Joseph Stalin, represented in published form by *The Young Lenin* (1936) and *Stalin: An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence* (1941). The Hoover Institution has smaller quantities of drafts of these two books. Harvard has the only known drafts of *Imperialist War and Proletarian Revolution* (1940).

A definite pattern exists in regard to holdings of lesser writings of the prolific Trotsky. The manuscripts at the Hoover Institution cluster in the 1929–36 period, with only a few items of later date. Harvard's holdings, on the other hand, are relatively stronger for 1936–40 than for the early exile period. Of the more than 500 works by Trotsky represented at the Hoover Institution in their original draft forms, sixty have never been published. Although they are relatively brief and not of a character to demand major revision of Trotsky historiography, their existence is certainly noteworthy. Most of them deal with problems of the International Left Opposition in various countries (including Bulgaria and Palestine). Others include polemics against opposing accounts of the Russian revolution, and a memorial to Trotsky's deceased daughter, Zinaida.

The correspondence at the Hoover Institution is considerably less voluminous than that at Harvard. Nevertheless, Hoover holds some 2,700 letters. Trotsky's political thought and activities have been well documented in print, but he was generally at pains to guard his innermost feelings from those around him. His family correspondence provides a rare window on his private life. Notable among the holdings at the Hoover Institution are 254 letters from Trotsky to Sedov (mainly 1931–33), 171 letters from Trotsky's wife, Natalia Sedova, to her son (1931–37), fifty-two letters from Sedov to his father (1933–36), and eight from him to his mother. By way of contrast, Harvard has 158 letters from Trotsky to Sedov, seventy-five from Sedova to her son, and 160 from Sedov to Trotsky. Almost all of these Harvard letters date after 1933. The family correspondence at the Hoover Institution adds appreciably to our knowledge of Trotsky the man, especially during the years 1931–33. Other correspondence at the Hoover Institution includes 177 letters from Trotsky to third parties, some 500 letters from third parties to Trotsky (many of them from publishers, and autograph seekers), 1,500 letters exchanged between Sedov and third parties, and 200 letters exclusively involving secretaries or other political allies of Trotsky. Virtually all correspondence dates between 1929 and 1938.

This correspondence and the other writings (resolutions, theses, and reports) bear heavily on activities of the International Left Opposition. The Trotsky papers at Harvard contain a wealth of material on this subject. Those at the Hoover Institution supplement this coverage in several ways. Most important, perhaps, is the extensive correspondence of Sedov with third parties. At the center of the work of the secretariat of the International Left Opposition, Sedov immersed himself in a mass of practical detail that vividly documents the life of the movement, from which Trotsky was physically distant. Sedov's correspondence provides both political and personal insights. On 16 April 1936, for example, he composed a letter to his mother mentioning the current state of the French Trotskyists, always prone to factionalism and then negotiating to repair a split dating from the previous December. Sedov harshly criticized Trotsky's role in the proceedings: "If Father several weeks after the split came to the conclusion that reconciliation is needed, it means that the split was wrong, it means that it was unnecessary to be so irreconcilable toward R. M. [Raymond Molinier] and company, but that it was necessary to compromise." He went on in an outburst: "I think that all Dad's deficiencies have not diminished as he grew older, but under the influence of his isolation, very difficult, unprecedentedly difficult, gotten worse. His lack of tolerance, hot temper, inconsistency, even rudeness, his desire to humiliate, offend, and even destroy have increased. It is not 'personal,' it is a method and hardly good in organization of work."<sup>3</sup> Having purged himself of pent-up frustrations, Sedov left the letter unsent and resumed his accustomed role as his father's most loyal supporter.

<sup>3</sup> Boris I. Nicolaevsky Collection, series 231, Leon Trotsky-Lev Sedov Papers, Hoover Institution Archives. Our translation.

Of particular note among Trotsky papers at both Harvard and the Hoover Institution are clandestine materials emanating from or directed to the Soviet Union. During 1929–30, Trotsky received some letters sent by Russian oppositionists through various mail drops, while himself sending tactical instructions to oppositionists in the Soviet Union, in one case at least as late as 1932. The materials at the Hoover Institution include several items of this nature, for instance, unpublished Trotsky letters smuggled into the Soviet Union by Iakov Blumkin. There is also a handwritten letter, apparently by Boris El'tsin, containing an account of dissension in the Politburo around the time of Trotsky's expulsion. (This account has been published but not with attribution to El'tsin.<sup>4</sup>) By 1930, direct contacts were decreasing, and Sedov turned to collecting information from sympathetic Soviet diplomatic and trade officials abroad, and from recent visitors to the country, including foreign specialists employed in Soviet industry. There are forty-six such reports in the Hoover Institution, twenty-nine of them from Soviet officials (1929–34), and seventeen from foreign visitors (1931–37). These provide unique insights, both into Russian social, political, and economic conditions, and into the channels that remained open to the oppositionists. One report from a Soviet official in England code-named "Tenzov," for example, discusses conflicts in 1930 between Generals Vasilii Bliukher and Kliment Voroshilov.

The office files of the *Biulleten' oppositsii*, newspaper of the Russian oppositionists, are among the materials at the Hoover Institution Archives. These include correspondence and subscription records. (The U.S. and Soviet governments are shown to have maintained subscriptions.) In several cases, manuscripts of anonymous or pseudonymous articles published in the newspaper during its early years establish Trotsky's authorship for the first time. In the case of a few other articles attributed to others, annotations in Trotsky's handwriting revive the question of authorship. Rounding out the Trotsky-Sedov Papers are a considerable number of photographs, many unpublished, of Trotsky, members of his family, and his political associates.

Although almost all of the materials at the Hoover Institution date from the period of exile, there is one earlier item of particular interest. On 16 December 1928, two months before Trotsky's expulsion from the Soviet Union, agents of the secret police visited him at Alma Ata to demand cessation of his "counterrevolutionary" political activities. Trotsky's indignant reply, in the form of a letter written in white heat on the same day to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist party and the Executive Committee of the Communist International, has been published.<sup>5</sup> But the Nicolaevsky Collection contains a book in which the first four paragraphs of this letter appear in Trotsky's handwriting in the margins and between lines. Some words are unfinished, others are repeated, and there are several grammatical errors, something highly unusual for Trotsky. The errors may be attributable to his excited state during the document's composition, or to the use of invisible ink. In either case, Trotsky, in the old tradition of Russian

<sup>4</sup> *Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1929* (New York, 1975), 67–73.

<sup>5</sup> Leon Trotsky, *The Challenge of the Left Opposition, 1928–29* (New York, 1981), 361–66.



revolutionaries, clearly sought to smuggle his letter to the outside world by means the police would not suspect—in this case, in the published diary of the poet Aleksandr Blok.

In reconstructing the history of the materials at the Hoover Institution, it is essential to note that they include papers of both Trotsky and Sedov. The two archives became physically separated in February, 1931, when Sedov left his father in Turkey and resumed his studies in Germany. In addition, Sedov maintained the records of the secretariat of the International Left Opposition in Berlin until April, 1933, when he moved them to Paris. Trotsky arrived in France in July of 1933. A major turning point in the dispersal of the Trotsky archives followed Trotsky's uprooting from his incognito residence in Barbizon in April, 1934, when he was ordered deported from France. Although he actually remained in the country for over a year longer because of the reluctance of any other government to grant him an entry visa, Trotsky decided to entrust many of his papers to Sedov. When he finally departed for Norway in June of 1935, Trotsky took with him other papers. These, together with papers generated during the remainder of his life, were sold to Harvard University in 1940 shortly before his death. (Natalia Sedova sold smaller quantities of papers to Harvard after World War II.) At the moment of Trotsky's departure for Norway, Sedov was in Paris, in possession of his own papers, copies of Trotsky's Civil War correspondence (1917–22), a portion of Trotsky's correspondence in exile, and a large volume of manuscripts of Trotsky's writings. To these materials were later added manuscripts of some of Trotsky's Norwegian writings (through the end of 1936), which he evidently sent to Sedov for safekeeping.

Almost all the materials in the Hoover Institution clearly passed, directly or indirectly, from Sedov to Nicolaevsky. A major exception is the manuscript of *Stalin*, on which Trotsky was still working in Mexico at the time of his death. Of the materials left in Sedov's custody, Trotsky's Civil War correspondence was sold to the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam in December, 1935.

Events in the fall of 1936 precipitated the only documented deposit of Trotsky papers with Nicolaevsky. The first Moscow Trial took place in August, with Trotsky in absentia as the chief defendant, accused of conspiring to carry out terroristic acts in the Soviet Union. The defendant, Holtzmann, testified to having received conspiratorial instructions from Trotsky and Sedov at the Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen in November–December, 1932. A Danish newspaper quickly published the damaging information that no Hotel Bristol existed in the capital. Trotsky and Sedov set to work compiling additional refutations of the charges. The *Biulleten' oppozitsii* devoted a special issue in October, 1936 to a lengthy analysis by Sedov of inconsistencies in the Moscow charges. Even though Trotsky had been in Copenhagen at the time alleged by Holtzmann, Sedov demonstrated on the basis of his passport that he himself had never visited Denmark, and, on the basis of an official university student book, that he had been taking an examination in Berlin on the very day that Holtzmann placed him in Copenhagen.<sup>6</sup> Sedov's long article

<sup>6</sup> Sedov's passport and student book are among the papers in the Hoover Institution.

was quickly published in pamphlet form in French as *Livre rouge sur le procès de Moscou*.

Trotsky's letters to Sedov during this period indicate his appreciation of the potential value of his papers in refuting Stalinist calumnies. He began to evince intense concern for the security of his archives, writing at least three times to Sedov to urge their safe housing. Sedov arranged to deposit some of them with Boris Nicolaevsky, who had just set up a branch of the International Institute for Social History at 7 rue Michelet in Paris. Sedov's disposition of the archives under his care prior to this time is not entirely clear. It is known, however, that he had deposited one portion of the papers with Lilia Estrin, a member of the circle of Russian Trotskyists in Paris, who was employed as secretary to Nicolaevsky, and another portion with Mark Zborowski, now known to have been a Soviet secret police operative who infiltrated the Trotskyist movement in Paris in 1934 and soon won Sedov's trust and a position as his confidant. On 28 September, Sedov and Zborowski wrapped the papers in Estrin's apartment into fifteen bundles, and, the day after, Estrin and Zborowski transported them to 7 rue Michelet. The papers remaining in Zborowski's custody were to follow in due course, and, on 6 November, Sedov and Zborowski agreed to transfer them the next day. However, on the night of 6 November, Nicolaevsky's offices were burglarized and the fifteen bundles of Trotsky archives were stolen.<sup>7</sup>

Half a century later, many aspects of the burglary remain puzzling. The revelation almost twenty years after the event that Zborowski had been an agent of the Soviet police filled in only one piece of the jigsaw and, indeed, raised more questions than it answered.<sup>8</sup> The only first-hand descriptions of the stolen materials are by Sedov. (Nicolaevsky claimed not to have examined them during the five weeks they were in his custody but did state that they amounted to about eighty kilograms in weight.<sup>9</sup>) In an oral statement to the French police, Sedov said that the materials dated from 1931 and 1932 and consisted of newspapers, correspondence of Trotsky with Maurice Parijanine and Andrés Nin, drafts of articles by Trotsky, and other unspecified documents said to be of historical interest only.<sup>10</sup> In a later, written deposition, Sedov modified this description to state that the bulk of the material consisted of newspapers issued by Trotskyist groups in various languages, although there were some correspondence files,

<sup>7</sup> This account of the deposit of Trotsky papers and their burglary is based on a series of seven French police reports, 8–17 November 1936, accessioned as Seine (Dept.) Préfecture de Police Reports, in the Hoover Institution Archives (hereafter cited as Police Reports).

<sup>8</sup> Mark Zborowski's career has been an unusual one. After coming to the United States in 1941, he carried out anthropological research, working for a time under the direction of Margaret Mead, and co-authored a book on Jewish *shtetl* life in Eastern Europe, *Life Is with People* (1952). In 1956, he came under suspicion of espionage but, due to the statute of limitations, was charged only with perjury. A conviction in 1958 was reversed on appeal, but Zborowski was re-tried in 1962 and sentenced to four years in prison. He has published another work in the field of medical anthropology, *People in Pain* (1969). He declined to be interviewed regarding the Trotsky-Sedov Papers. See U.S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States*, Parts 4 and 5, 84th Cong., 2d sess., 77–150 (hereafter cited as *Scope of Soviet Activity*); and the *New York Times* for 6 and 21 November 1958, 11 November 1959, 30 November 1962, and 14 December 1962.

<sup>9</sup> Police Reports, 8 November 1936.

<sup>10</sup> Police Reports, 9 November 1936.

possibly including one of recent correspondence.<sup>11</sup> Trotsky, in his published denunciations of the theft, minimized the extent of his loss, repeating Sedov's written claim that little had been taken except for newspapers. Trotsky's biographer, Isaac Deutscher, accepted this claim as accurate.

Sedov's initial statement could be construed as indicating more substantial losses than could his later, formal deposition. Trotsky's one-time secretary, Jean van Heijenoort, who knew both men well, has suggested that Sedov may have feared to disclose to his father the full extent of the theft.<sup>12</sup> If so, this would account for a difference in tenor between his two statements. The discovery of the Trotsky papers at the Hoover Institution, however, narrows significantly the range of materials known or thought to exist but which were hitherto unaccounted for and thus possibly stolen. For example, van Heijenoort speculated that Trotsky's letters to Sedov from 1931 to 1933 were among the burglarized materials.<sup>13</sup> Instead, a large number of them are at the Hoover Institution.

Trotsky was in no doubt as to the motives of the Soviet secret police (NKVD) in stealing his papers. Writing on 10 November, he linked the theft to the publication of Sedov's *Livre rouge* and predicted efforts by the NKVD to seize all his archives.<sup>14</sup> Testifying in closed session to a Norwegian court on 11 December, he developed this theme. Not only would his papers refute specific Stalinist charges but, as a totality and read in context, they would be convincing evidence to any fair-minded person that his privately expressed views were consistent with those he had voiced publicly and incompatible with the accusations made against him. Stalin would thus want to wrest the archives from him.<sup>15</sup> As the date of the second Moscow Trial drew near, Trotsky, in Mexico, braced for the introduction of doctored versions of stolen letters. Writing for publication on 20 January and again on 21 January 1937, he predicted their use in frame-ups: "But the [NKVD] will indubitably utilize the seized portion of my correspondence in order better to prepare the factual and chronological canvas for its accusations . . . Embarrassing slip-ups [such as Holtzmann's at the first trial] can this time be avoided by Vyshinskii with the aid of the seized archives. But the [NKVD] may go further: it may transform my documents into a form of palimpsest, superimposing upon them its own revised and improved text."<sup>16</sup>

When the second Moscow Trial opened on 23 January, Trotsky's fears failed to materialize. Far from making use of stolen documents as palimpsests, prosecutor Andrei Vyshinskii introduced no documentary evidence whatever. Although Trotsky was now portrayed as an agent of German Nazism, the case against him, in the second trial as in the first, relied solely on the testimony of the defendants.

<sup>11</sup> Lev Sedov, "Mémoire pour l'instruction," 19 November 1936 (document 17213), Leon Trotsky Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

<sup>12</sup> Jean van Heijenoort, *With Trotsky in Exile: From Prinkipo to Coyoacán* (Cambridge, 1978), 102.

<sup>13</sup> Van Heijenoort, "History of Trotsky's Papers," 293.

<sup>14</sup> *Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1935–36*, 2d edn. (New York, 1977), 447 (hereafter cited as *Writings, 1935–36*).

<sup>15</sup> *Writings, 1935–36*, 461–62.

<sup>16</sup> *Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1936–37*, 2d edn. (New York, 1978), 125 (hereafter cited as *Writings, 1936–37*). See also 111–12.

Nor was Vyshinskii more successful at avoiding “slip-ups” like that of Holtzmann. Defendant Piatakov claimed he flew to Norway in December, 1935 to receive conspiratorial instructions from Trotsky, but Norwegian newspapers established that no airplane had landed near Oslo that month. Defendant Romm’s story about meeting Trotsky in Paris in July of 1933 collapsed when Trotsky marshaled evidence from his archives to demonstrate that he was nowhere near Paris at the time.<sup>17</sup> The third Moscow Trial of March, 1938 also failed to make discernible use of stolen Trotsky papers.

Sedov’s statement that correspondence between Trotsky and Nin was stolen suggests an alternative motive for the burglary. Andrés Nin entered the Catalanian government as minister of justice on 28 September 1936. Although Nin had broken with Trotsky politically, the Spanish Stalinists engaged in a vehement campaign to portray Nin’s Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM) as Trotskyist and crypto-fascist. By mid-December, this campaign was successful to the extent that the POUM was dropped from the government. However, no genuine or altered Trotsky-Nin correspondence was made public to further that end. It is certain Trotsky never made a connection between the burglary and the Spanish Civil War. Yet the large number of Trotsky-Nin letters that must have once existed cannot now be accounted for. Trotsky remarked: “For several years, I corresponded with [Nin] quite regularly. Some of my letters were veritable ‘treatises’ . . . I think that my letters to Nin over a period of two or three years would make up a volume of several hundred pages.”<sup>18</sup> “During the series of general strikes in Barcelona [Nin] wrote me letters on all conceivable questions . . . In the course of those years we exchanged hundreds of letters.”<sup>19</sup> From this correspondence, only twenty-five letters at the Hoover Institution and three at Harvard are now known to exist.

Trotsky, who never realized the true role of Zborowski, assumed that the NKVD did not know in advance the contents of the papers deposited at 7 rue Michelet on 29 September 1936, and that it did not know more papers were to follow. He was clearly wrong. At the very least, Zborowski must have had ample opportunity to form a general impression of the papers at Estrin’s apartment, since he helped bundle them up. He had every opportunity to examine at leisure (and copy) the papers in his own custody and was intimately involved in the discussion of their transfer. He subsequently admitted keeping his superiors at the NKVD informed of these matters.<sup>20</sup> Aleksandr Orlov, the senior official of the NKVD who defected in 1938, accused Zborowski of having actively planned the burglary.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Writings, 1936–37*, 204–06. For a complete review of evidence on the Moscow Trials presented by Trotsky to the Dewey Commission, see *The Case of Leon Trotsky: Report of Hearings on the Charges Made against Him in the Moscow Trials* (New York, 1937); and *Not Guilty: Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials* (New York, 1938).

<sup>18</sup> Leon Trotsky, *The Spanish Revolution, 1931–39* (New York, 1973), 215.

<sup>19</sup> *Writings, 1935–36*, 368.

<sup>20</sup> *Scope of Soviet Activity*, 91.

<sup>21</sup> U.S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *The Legacy of Alexander Orlov*, 93rd Cong., 1st sess., 18 (hereafter cited as *Legacy of Alexander Orlov*).

Isaac Deutscher, judging that the materials stolen were of little value and, unlike Trotsky, knowing the true position of Zborowski, reached the extreme conclusion that the burglary took place not to obtain documents at all but as an elaborate ruse to lull Trotsky into a false sense of Zborowski's trustworthiness. The archives in Zborowski's custody, after all, remained safe, whereas those transferred from Estrin to Nicolaevsky were lost.<sup>22</sup> There are grave difficulties with this thesis. Most notably, the burglary did not remove Zborowski from suspicion but placed him in the small pool of suspects. The reports of the French police reflect a conviction that the burglars must have had privileged knowledge, and that it could have emanated, wittingly or not, from one of only four sources—Sedov, Nicolaevsky, Estrin, or Zborowski. Largely because Sedov vouched for the integrity of the others, the police concluded that an untraceable, inadvertent lapse in discretion by one of them had alerted the NKVD.<sup>23</sup> Much later, Estrin recalled that Zborowski was in a state of near panic during the police investigation.<sup>24</sup> When he confessed to her in 1955 his connections to the NKVD, he maintained his ignorance of the burglary before the fact and told of his vociferous protest to his superiors afterward, fearing that his true identity was likely to be exposed.<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, in his congressional testimony as a not-very-cooperative witness, Zborowski, while acknowledging his undercover role, denied emphatically any prior knowledge of the burglary—more emphatically than he denied complicity in any of several murders or suspected murders.<sup>26</sup>

After defecting in the summer of 1938, Aleksandr Orlov wrote pseudonymously to Trotsky on 27 December, warning him of a NKVD agent named "Mark" and describing him so precisely as to pinpoint Zborowski. Orlov stated that "Mark" was the initiator of the burglary, and that the NKVD had expected it to end his usefulness as an agent, since he would probably be exposed in its aftermath.<sup>27</sup> In the absence of corroborating evidence, Trotsky dismissed Orlov's letter as the likely work of a Stalinist *provocateur*. The relevant point here, however, is the incompatibility of Orlov's story and Deutscher's hypothesis. One is left with a conundrum. On the one hand, Zborowski was ideally placed as Sedov's right-hand man in Paris to provide continuing information of the most intimate and reliable nature on the international Trotskyist movement. What specific items in the stolen materials could have been worth jeopardizing his position? On the other hand, if, as Trotsky thought, the indiscriminate theft of all his papers was really Stalin's object, then why were the papers in Zborowski's custody not also spirited away by the NKVD? One may speculate about inefficiency or cross-purposes in the secret police, but this speculation provides no real answer. The mystery endures.

On 7 November 1936, the day after the burglary, Sedov rushed to Zborowski's apartment and transported the papers there to the home of Gérard Rosenthal,

<sup>22</sup> Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Outcast: Trotsky, 1929–1940* (New York, 1963), 349.

<sup>23</sup> Police Reports, 17 November 1936.

<sup>24</sup> *Scope of Soviet Activity*, 145.

<sup>25</sup> *Scope of Soviet Activity*, 139.

<sup>26</sup> *Scope of Soviet Activity*, 91.

<sup>27</sup> *Legacy of Alexander Orlov*, 37–38.

Trotsky's French lawyer. The next day, they were evidently sent on to Amsterdam, where they remain.<sup>28</sup>

A year later, Trotsky wrote to his secretary Jan Frankel, then in the United States, proposing the sale of his papers to an American repository. He had foremost in mind the papers with him in Mexico, but he added: "Leon [Sedov] could furnish important matter from Paris. But that is a secondary part of the matter."<sup>29</sup> As of December, 1937, then, Sedov had, either in his personal possession or deposited in a safe place to which he had ready access, a significant portion of Trotsky's papers. Almost certainly this is the material now in the Hoover Institution Archives. It is possible that, for security reasons, such as the danger of an intercepted letter, Trotsky may have been content not to know the exact disposition of the papers made by his trusted son.<sup>30</sup>

Sedov's death under mysterious circumstances on 16 February 1938 upset this situation, and Trotsky once again registered alarm about his archives. He wrote the French ambassador to Mexico on 28 February, indicating his understanding that the papers in Sedov's personal possession had been seized by the authorities conducting an inquiry into his death and urging care that they not fall into the hands of the NKVD.<sup>31</sup> Another letter on the following day evidently assumed that other papers were in the hands of Sedov's companion, Jeanne Martin. Trotsky urged that they be sent to him in Mexico. The letter continues: "Natalia and I would like, as well, to have as soon as possible all our letters written to Lyova [Sedov], as well as his old letters to us stored in the Paris archives."<sup>32</sup> This is the only known passage by Trotsky that can possibly be construed as acknowledging the existence of any of his papers in Nicolaevsky's institute. More likely, however, "Paris archives" was meant as an abstract designation for the papers under Sedov's care, not as a reference to an actual repository.

The situation now became complicated by a split that had occurred among the French Trotskyists sometime before. Jeanne Martin, while continuing to live with Sedov, adhered politically to a dissident group led by her former husband, Raymond Molinier. Relations between Martin and Trotsky were therefore strained at the time of Sedov's death. In his letter of 1 March 1938, Trotsky proposed formation of a commission of his representatives in France to negotiate with her for the return of Trotsky-Sedov papers in her possession. Estrin, Rosenthal, and Alfred Rosmer were among those suggested for the commission. Although details are lacking, it is obvious that negotiations were fruitless. Rosmer

<sup>28</sup> Police Reports, 17 November 1936. Rosenthal makes no mention of this in his memoirs, *Avocat de Trotsky* (Paris, 1975). However, a letter from Estrin to Albert Goldman of 29 November 1946 appears to refer to the transfer. Boris I. Nicolaevsky Collection, Lilia Estrin Papers, Part II, Hoover Institution Archives.

<sup>29</sup> *Writings of Leon Trotsky: Supplement, 1934–40* (New York, 1979), 750 (hereafter cited as *Writings: Supplement*).

<sup>30</sup> An incident related by van Heijenoort supports the idea that Trotsky believed there were some things it was better for him not to know. He reprimanded van Heijenoort for telling him details of illegal use of a passport: "'Imagine that I fall sick. They take me to the hospital in Istanbul and put me to sleep. Then I begin to speak about the passport in my sleep!'" *With Trotsky in Exile*, 100.

<sup>31</sup> *Writings: Supplement*, 759–60.

<sup>32</sup> *Writings: Supplement*, 761.



wrote to Estrin on 22 July, noting that she was the only Trotsky loyalist still in contact with Martin and urging her to pursue the question of the archives.<sup>33</sup> A letter from Estrin to Rosmer two months later, evidently not a direct reply, stated that no papers of importance remained in the Sedov apartment, all having been taken by the police.<sup>34</sup> As late as 10 April 1939, Trotsky wrote to Rosenthal: "You know, dear friend, the history of my archives, which Mrs. [Jeanne Martin] Molinier has attempted to seize, against my will, for purposes which remain obscure, to say the least . . . In her letters to me Mrs. Molinier acknowledged that these papers were mine and were no concern of hers. At the same time she tried to extort from me a power of attorney which would have allowed her to transfer my papers to Mr. [Georges] Vereecken, a man in the confidence of Mr. Raymond Molinier, an open enemy of my son and myself."<sup>35</sup> Much later, Jeanne Martin wrote that it was only after the end of World War II that she had been able to reclaim the papers taken by the French police from the Sedov apartment.<sup>36</sup> According to Jean van Heijenoort, these were few in number and eventually made their way to Harvard University via Natalia Sedova.<sup>37</sup>

There were obviously other Trotsky-Sedov papers in Paris at the time of Sedov's death that were not seized by the police, and that in fact made their way to the Hoover Institution through Boris Nicolaevsky. It is possible that Sedov had confidentially left most of these with Nicolaevsky sometime prior to his death, some conceivably even prior to the ill-fated deposit in 1936. Alternatively, they were transferred to Nicolaevsky from an unknown location after Sedov's death. (The great bulk of the Trotsky manuscripts pre-date the burglary in November of 1936; much of the correspondence dates between that event and Sedov's death.) The Rosmer-Estrin correspondence certainly indicates that Rosmer, who was in Paris in 1938, had no inkling Nicolaevsky was in possession of the papers.

As World War II descended on France, the Molinier group effected a rapprochement with the "official" French Trotskyists. Under these circumstances, Jeanne Martin may have agreed to a deposit. If so, she seems never to have mentioned it.

Estrin was ideally placed to serve as an intermediary in any deposit after the death of Sedov. If she did, she too maintained her silence. It is interesting to note that a very small fraction of the papers dates from after Sedov's death. Aside from the *Stalin* drafts (which Nicolaevsky likely acquired separately in the United States) and a couple of non-manuscript items, these materials date from February, 1938 to August, 1939, and include ten short Trotsky manuscripts and sixty-seven letters. Of these, sixty-three are either from or to Estrin. Together with the presence of the *Biulleten' oppositsii* files, which she maintained, they present strong circum-

<sup>33</sup> Boris I. Nicolaevsky Collection, series 57, Lilia Estrin Papers, Hoover Institution Archives.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Writings: Supplement*, 813.

<sup>36</sup> Jeanne Martin des Pallières, "Lettres à Jean van Heijenoort," *Cahiers Léon Trotsky*, no. 4 (October–December 1979), 20.

<sup>37</sup> Interview with Jean van Heijenoort, Hoover Institution, 26 March 1986.

stantial evidence that Estrin played a role in Nicolaevsky's acquisition of at least some of the papers.

For whatever reason, neither Nicolaevsky nor his wife Bourguina made known during their lifetimes the existence of the Trotsky-Sedov papers in their custody. Nicolaevsky's personal correspondence, which now forms a part of his collection, includes several letters to and from Sedova extending up until 1959. None of these contain any reference to the papers.

Whatever the exact details of their history, one thing is certain: no one among Trotsky's closest surviving associates was aware of the complete disposition of his archives. The full story of the Trotsky archives has yet to be told, but, with the discovery of the papers at the Hoover Institution, an important new chapter of that story has emerged. It must be welcome news to interested scholars that substantial new Trotsky papers are in existence.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> A detailed finding aid to the Trotsky-Sedov Papers has been prepared. The papers are in the process of being microfilmed and will be available for use when filming is completed. Inquiries for further information should be addressed to the Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305.

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## Reviews of Books

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### GENERAL

SANDE COHEN. *Historical Culture: On the Recoding of an Academic Discipline*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1986. Pp. ix, 354. \$35.00.

Sande Cohen presents a critique of academic historiography as in hopeless complicity with the worst features of contemporary life in the West. Academic historiography offers merely symbolic solutions to real problems, particularly through a "narrativization" of issues that amounts to a mythical process of escapist domestication. Its quest for false "transcendence" and its comfortable insertion in the institutional status quo deprive it of any effective role in elaborating a critical response to its context or to its own "transcendent" mode of discourse. (These traits are argued to be common to texts as seemingly diverse as Peter Gay's "liberal" *Weimar Culture* [1968], E. P. Thompson's "Marxist" *Poverty of Theory* [1978], and Fernand Braudel's "structuralist" *Capitalism and Material Life* [1973], which are objects of sustained analysis in chapters 3–5). In the author's words: "Transcendence is a type of utterance designed for maximum distance from reality and intimate appropriateness to reality—a discourse that simulates the objectification of cultural contents and activities by wrapping them in 'can' and 'must,' truth and belief (modals and their combinations). Obligative thought is generally its characteristic mode. I propose that transcendence is manifested by a sign-system that aims at the control of immanence, in which the semantic explosions of the latter, at the level of perception, are reduced and diffused" (p. 8). (This passage itself conveys the author's characteristic mode of writing.)

The book contains a number of insights and assertions that deserve to be taken seriously. Whatever one may think of its global argument or its analytic methods, one may find merit in certain of its local contentions and specific analyses—as well as in some of the "gut reactions" that seem to inspire it. But the book, despite signs of exceptional intelligence, contains a number of well-nigh insuperable

difficulties. (I present these, however, in terms of my own debatable conclusions rather than in the "judgment-from-on-high" mode that reviewing for the *AHR* itself seems to inspire.)

A major problem is that Cohen does not work through prevalent assumptions in the historical profession and offer a critique of them that uses unfamiliar theory to engage and challenge historians. Instead, he confronts historiography with a massive analytic machine made up of parts imported primarily from recent French thinkers (particularly Louis Althusser, Roland Barthes, Jean Baudrillard, Gilles Deleuze, Algirdas Julien Greimas, and Jean-François Lyotard). In a manner somewhat reminiscent of Barthes in *S/Z* (1970), Cohen dissects the discourses he analyzes into numbered "lexias"—a device that at times seems to become a substitute for sustained argument and interpretation. Indeed the scientific tenor of the book compounds difficulties, and it—even more than traditional narrative—falls prey to the charge of seemingly "transcending" the problems it addresses. In addition, self-styled "deconstruction" misleadingly merges with a self-conscious "existential anarchism," and "critique" threatens to become tantamount to total abstract negation. The resulting *sémiotique du pire* obviates any concern for possible alternatives, which are deemed "unimaginable" given the current disarray.

Cohen is on the mark in mounting a sustained critique of the recent overvaluation of narrative, and his plea for theory and criticism is timely and forceful. He is also, I think, correct in attacking the position of transcendental spectator that the historian often assumes in narration. But he tends to identify all narrative with conventional narrative (thereby essentializing the category of narrative), and he bases an ultrasophisticated theoretical edifice on rather simplistic binary oppositions (including that between narrative and theory). An inquiry into the extent to which narrative and theory may be understood not as binaries but as more or less off-set displacements of one another would have been useful. Such an inquiry might have prevented Cohen himself from veering in the direction of the

most extreme form of presentism conceivable—one in which attempted critical thinking about the present is effectively cut off from history and linked with a dismembering, classify-and-condemn analytic technique and an ill-defined program of semiotic guerrilla warfare against the status quo. I would nonetheless conclude by stressing that, even when one disagrees with it, this book forces one to come to terms with its provocative claims and to seek a better formulation of the nature and value of historical inquiry.

DOMINICK LACAPRA  
Cornell University

WILLIAM H. MCNEILL. *Mythistory and Other Essays*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1986. Pp. ix, 226. \$19.95.

World history is coming. This is the message of the World History Association, formed by young historians in 1982 to take up the cause of world history from older scholars who had been fighting a losing battle within the profession for years. Their idol is William H. McNeill. Those who want to know why should read this little collection of his essays, ranging from a piece from 1961 on his discovery of Arnold Toynbee to his presidential address of 1985 to the American Historical Association on the provocative notion of "mythistory." The main subject, however, is McNeill himself and his intellectual journey toward world history.

This journey began in 1939 with McNeill's revolt against his graduate supervisor at Cornell, Carl Becker, and against the kind of Eurocentric history that Becker represented. On his own, McNeill discovered first the contrasting history of Eastern Europe, which stirred his interest in the diversity of cultures, and thereafter Toynbee's larger history of the world, which instilled the idea of a unity behind the whole human experience. McNeill was "transported" by the global sweep of Toynbee's vision—but only so far. He was uncomfortable with Toynbee's mystical perception of civilizations as separate organisms, each alone and self-absorbed, little affected by other peoples. Influenced by the work of American anthropologists on cultural borrowings among American Indians, he fixed instead on the thesis that cultural interaction—not isolation—was the "main drive wheel" in world history. Encounters with outsiders possessing superior skills, he concluded, set cultures into motion to imitate or resist the stranger. So evolved the organizing idea of McNeill's prize-winning world history, *The Rise of the West* (1963). "I simply set out to identify in any given age where the center of highest skills was located," he explains. "By describing them and then asking how neighboring peoples reacted to such achieve-

ments, a comprehensive structure for successive periods of world history emerges" (p. 62).

McNeill insists that world history is no more difficult than other history. But to convince historians that this is so is difficult. In fact, McNeill devotes much of the book to explaining why the profession has not listened to him. Because historians value accuracy of fact above conceptual synthesis, McNeill explains, they shrink before the scale of universal history. Thus, although living in an expanding world community, they continue to write smaller histories. Yet McNeill recognizes that humans need these smaller histories as well as larger ones. For him, all histories are "mythhistories," rival versions of the past that, for those who accept them as truth, provide collective identities and respond to human needs for belief and belonging. World history alone, McNeill acknowledges, is too pale and pluralistic to satisfy the depth of these needs. Separate peoples need separate histories, strident histories, histories of "us" and "them," myths that unite fellow citizens against enemies. But in a nuclear age, McNeill insists, something is needed to make up for these separate mythhistories, to balance them, to nurture the sense that all peoples are world citizens as well. If historians do not take up the "great and solemn duty" to develop this ecumenical history, he warns, the profession will have nothing important to teach, and other mythmakers will lead opinion in more dangerous directions.

True believers make the best crusaders. Complete faith in these ideas about world history probably was necessary to McNeill in his fight within an unyielding profession. To him world history is a higher history, involving larger human interests and appealing to the better part of ourselves. His version of it, as he frankly concedes, involves specifically American attitudes as well. Characteristic in this connection is his objection to Fernand Braudel's *Annaliste* stress on the power of impersonal historical processes over the individual will. McNeill's mythistory, in contrast, is an affirmation of human potential, cultural contacts, and open societies. Such a history, he believes, would be not only the salvation of history in the curriculum but, more largely, a professional contribution to peace through international understanding.

Between the idea and the reality, said T. S. Eliot, falls the shadow. To my knowledge, world history courses have never successfully competed against Western Civilization or European history surveys. McNeill's idea of world history as a form of education for peace cannot be more than an article of faith. The reality is that, as a story of cultural contacts, world history may indeed inspire a sense of human community but, as a story of conflicts and exploitation, it may also perpetuate old quarrels and provide substance for new ones. Thus, thinkers

have debated endlessly whether war or peace is the lesson of world history. Never mind. McNeill, most importantly, provides much that is convincing in these shining essays to recommend world history to our profession. The rest, the uplifting language about serving peace and saving history in the schools, can be reconciled as expressions of the moral idealism carried along by world history from its ancient origins in religious thought. High ideas just seem to go with the territory.

GILBERT ALLARDYCE  
University of New Brunswick

RICHARD F. TEICHGRAEBER III. *"Free Trade" and Moral Philosophy: Rethinking the Sources of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1986. Pp. xvii, 211. \$35.00.

This study poses as its central thesis that "Adam Smith's economic doctrines developed with substantial continuity from ethical and political concerns he first confronted while a student of Francis Hutcheson" (p. 171). In developing this idea, Richard F. Teichgraeber III explores certain of the changes in attitude toward economic matters that occurred in the writings on natural law of such earlier thinkers as Hugo Grotius and Samuel von Pufendorf, as well as in the views of Smith's immediate Scottish predecessors, David Hume and Francis Hutcheson. Teichgraeber stresses herein the dethronement of reason by passions and instincts and postulates that debates over such philosophical topics as the meaning of virtue took precedence in Smith's mind over the economic, political, and social events of his time. Admitting that *Wealth of Nations* is a large and complex work and that Smith blended much into it, the author nevertheless persists in approaching Smith's mature theories through the narrower aperture of his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Unsurprisingly, he fails to make much of a case.

Traditional Western intellectual history began in the hands of authors such as Preserved Smith, who were committed to the idea of progress. Accordingly, a tendency to stress more recent theories at the expense of earlier ones has frequently marked the genre. Teichgraeber's account is constricted by the same tendency. Conceding that ancient debates over ethics and morals underlay the writings Smith used, the author nevertheless neglects these almost entirely. Crucially, Teichgraeber also overlooks the point that these social scientists were beginning to borrow models from the physical sciences of their own and earlier times.

This weakness shows up most clearly in the discussion of the four-stages theory of human economic and political development. Teichgraeber ad-

mits that Smith's earliest economic thought was an outgrowth of this theory, but, like Ronald Meek, he persists in seeing it only in the context of the Enlightenment. Both men are largely silent regarding the essential identity between the four-stages theory and the main outlines of Greek Anthropology, uncovered chiefly by Eric Havelock and Thomas Cole. Thus, the book's theories regarding Smith's formative period completely ignore the point that, during many of these same years, Smith was scouring the ancients to write his essays on the history of such ancient sciences as astronomy, physics, and logic, all of which figure in the underpinnings of Greek Anthropology.

By excluding Smith's indebtedness to this ancient developmental scheme, contemporary scholars overlook two important points. The first is that, since Karl Marx dug deeply into the same ancient theories, mainstream Western economics and its communist counterpart have a common point of origin and, thus, a measure of common ground. The second point is that Greek Anthropology, however crude its scientific assumptions may have been, nevertheless put human economic activity firmly into an environmental context—a point that Smith seemed to sense to some extent and that economics deeply needs today. Because of the faltering of socialist economics around the globe, most recently in China, Smith's views cry out for reevaluation. But in all likelihood the debates will focus on such points as whether the concept of the invisible hand is compatible with the Gaia Hypothesis, which wonders whether the biosphere regulates itself to sustain and maximize life. Thus, to approach Adam Smith in terms merely of human feelings and desires is to continue a biological parochialism that could well decimate the species that holds it.

VERNARD FOLEY  
Purdue University

WALTER L. ADAMSON. *Marx and the Disillusionment of Marxism*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1985. Pp. x, 258.

Already the author of a good book on Antonio Gramsci, Walter L. Adamson here offers something more ambitious: a survey of Marx's thought and the whole of the Western Marxist tradition to determine which parts of it still have any validity. Several *marxist* intellectuals have recently undertaken this broad self-reflection—Martin Jay's *Marxism and Totality* (1984) is the most prominent example—and Adamson's subtle and measured book can stand comparison with the best of them.

Adamson focuses on three central areas in the Marxist tradition: the validity of historical materialism for the study of social and political life, the role

of theory in the practice of democratic mass movements, and the relation between culture and political-economic life. To investigate these areas, Adamson begins by outlining four distinct but, in some aspects at least, inconsistent conceptions of history that are contained in Marx's work. The first, to be found mainly in Marx's early writings, is an anthropological view in which history consists of the unfolding of humanity's essential species-being toward its full normative realization. In the second, pragmatological view history is formed by the response of human actors to the needs they themselves produce in which practical objectivity plays a prominent role. In the third, nomological version history is the lawlike, determined process described by Marx in his famous *Preface* of 1859. The fourth version, favored by the author, is less easily characterized but already leans on the introduction to the *Grundrisse* of 1857, is counter-evolutionary, and concentrates on the historiographical underpinnings to historical materialism. It is explicated at greater length through a discussion of its implications for Marx's views on the relation of theory to practice and of culture to production. In the second half of his book Adamson takes a critical look at Western Marxism in the light of the above distinctions. Georg Lukacs, Karl Korsch, Gerald Cohen, and (to a heavily qualified extent) Jürgen Habermas are discussed as respective examples of the four versions of history. The last two chapters are more diffuse, featuring rather different thinkers: Hannah Arendt on the role of theory, and Theodor Adorno and Pierre Bourdieu on how to interpret without appeal to any firm foundation.

This book is difficult but rewarding. It is written with as great a clarity as its complex subject matter allows and, although somewhat light on the political side, makes a sympathetic and humane attempt to salvage from the Marxist tradition what may still be intellectually useful.

DAVID MCLELLAN  
University of Kent at Canterbury

RANDALL COLLINS. *Weberian Sociological Theory*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Pp. xi, 356. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$14.95.

Randall Collins developed his intellectual identity in the 1960s, when he helped resurrect historical sociology against the then-reigning Parsonian dispensation. His first major book, *Conflict Sociology* (1975), settled his account with the harmonious Parsonian world view. It was Weberian insofar as it looked at society as an arena of contending forces. *The Credential Society* (1979) reinforced the Veblenian element in Collins's vision of social life: human beings are engaged in ceaseless status struggles. Collin's out-

look features a strong antihumanist streak that regards higher education and the liberal arts foremost as weapons in the competition of individuals and groups. Somewhat paradoxically, Collins considers the "vanity" of knowledge provable by the science of society, in which he is a strong believer. In *Three Sociological Traditions* (1985) Collins embraced Emile Durkheim's ideal of positive sociology and his substantive view of the ritual cement that holds society together. *Weberian Sociological Theory* is an ambitious and massive effort to carry out the Durkheimian program with Weberian means, while criticizing the Marxists no less than the culturologists. Since Durkheim was deficient in historical knowledge and blind to the basically conflictual nature of social life, Max Weber appears to Collins as the best take-off point on the road toward a truly explanatory, propositional, and predictive science of society. He resolutely pushes Weber in the direction of higher levels of theoretical generalization as well as toward "stronger" causal explanations. He readily concedes that the actual Weber was much more of a historicist, preoccupied with the limits of generalization and the unique configurations of Western history.

In twelve fast-paced chapters Collins presents an encompassing set of theories that aim at a systematic sociology and an almost complete explanation of the course of history, especially in the West and China, and includes an essay on "the future decline of the Russian empire." The chapters range in subject from Weber's last theory of capitalism and the Weberian revolution of the High Middle Ages to historically informed theories of technology, geopolitics, imperialism, legitimacy, religious and secular heresy, alienation as ritual and ideology, and finally even Weber's theory of the family along somewhat feminist lines. Collins's targets are not only those who seem to overestimate religious beliefs (and ideology in general) as independent historical forces but also world-system theorists such as Wallerstein, who know only modern capitalism and fail to recognize that the "religious capitalism" of the medieval church and the monastic orders was the major precondition for the rise of modern capitalism and modern rationalism. Collins persuasively directs the reader's attention away from Weber's *kulturhistorisch* essay on the Protestant ethic and toward his institutional, long-range account of the historical modes and historical course of capitalism. More often than not he scores well against legions of Weber interpreters, but historians may be put off by his studied neglect of the finer points of textual and intellectual history as well as his tendency to simplify the complexities of major historical developments. In my judgment Weber developed his "last" theory of capitalism early on, and he kept a greater intellectual distance from Wilhelm Dilthey and Gustav Schmoller than Collins alleges. Finally, it appears to



me that, in spite of exhibiting an impressive synthetic grasp of history, the present work is too removed from the level at which sophisticated historical research advances our knowledge to promote a fruitful interdisciplinary exchange.

GUENTHER ROTH  
University of Washington

GRAHAME CLARK. *Symbols of Excellence: Precious Materials as Expressions of Status*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1986. Pp. ix, 126. \$19.95.

In 1959 the irrepressible Lewis Mumford commented on the remarks of a number of archaeologists, all trying to define urban "culture." Archaeology, he said, was obsessed by horizontal strata and by stratification. But culture, he added, was likely to leave traces organized vertically, rootlike, and stratum-oriented archaeology often did not catch sight of these traces.

Mumford's criticism comes strongly to mind when reading Grahame Clark's book. Clark is an old and respected archaeological hand. No personal library with an archaeology shelf should be without his *Archaeology and Society* (1957) or his *World Prehistory in New Perspective* (1975), and the present volume—barely over a hundred pages of text, interrupted by plenty of illustrations—is full of thoroughly marshaled facts. "Precious materials" are organized beginning with the organic: ivory, amber, coral, and so on. Jade, highly valued by the civilizations of China and Mesoamerica and in Neolithic New Zealand, has its own chapter, followed by sections on precious metals and precious stones; Clark ends his survey with an attempt at explaining "the symbolic roles of precious substances." Technical and anecdotal detail abounds: ivory has had the longest run as a valued material, from the upper Paleolithic; the "modern" precious metal platinum was worked in pre-Columbian South America. We ought to feel secure in Clark's compilation of data.

But can we in fact "look safely to archaeology," as Clark claims, for insights into the symbolism of precious materials in human history? True, the archaeologist recovers these "things," from Tut's treasures to the few amber beads of a Neolithic burial. We also depend on this specialist for the first stages of comparative or transcultural analysis. But beyond this? What analytic acuity should we expect of an archaeologist such as Clark?

Whatever we expect, we receive little. Clark's reading of "symbol" is symptomatic: to him it carries its least complex meaning, "a material object . . . representing something material or abstract" (p. 1). A bloody-minded reader might see the whole book as an attempt to refute Veblen ("read especially in the United States"), to show that expenditure and

excellence, precious object and character of possessor, do coincide. We have no doubt as to where Clark stands on "civilized societies concerned with maintaining wealth" (p. 65) or "those still mesmerized by egalitarian ideas" (p. 5).

To cast Clark in the role of the archaeologist as Colonel Blimp would be unfair. This book suffers from the lack of understanding of the complex net of symbolic signification that surrounds the idea of "value," even material value, in human societies. "Mere primates"—Clark likes this phrase—would not decorate their persons, crown kings with gold, or bury jade with the illustrious dead. But people and societies also build networks of honorific redistributions, destroy wealth in potlatches, "name" and personalize a gem or a metal object.

Clark has had a long and distinguished career as a workmanlike, serious, professional archaeologist. This book should be recognized for what it is: an act of filio piety by Cambridge and its press, addressed to the former master of Peterhouse. Clark's reputation should stand whole and apart from this late, light, and shallow collection.

D. A. MILLER  
University of Rochester

GEORGE W. STOCKING, JR., editor. *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*. (History of Anthropology, number 3.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1985. Pp. viii, 258. \$25.00.

The History of Anthropology series, inaugurated by the University of Wisconsin Press in 1983, promises to provide new insights and stimulus to research in this interdisciplinary, undersupported field. The third volume contains essays relating to museum anthropology and the study of material culture, with perhaps unintended emphasis on the New World; four essays deal with developments in the United States, one with Quebec, and one each with France and Great Britain. The focus is on institutions: the organization of museums, exhibits, collections, funding agencies. Some attention is paid to individual anthropologists—A. H. Lane Fox Pitt Rivers and Franz Boas—and to historiographic and philosophic traditions.

The volume comprises "Essays on Museums and Material Culture" by the editor of the series, George W. Stocking, Jr., "Arranging Ethnology: A. H. L. F. Pitt Rivers and the Typological Tradition" by William Ryan Chapman, "From Shell-Heaps to Stelae: Early Anthropology at the Peabody Museum" by Curtis M. Hinsley, "Franz Boas and Exhibits: On the Limitations of the Museum Method of Anthropology" by Ira Jacknis, "Philanthropoids and Vanishing Cultures: Rockefeller Funding and the End of the Museum Era in Anglo-American Anthropology" by

the editor, "Art and Artifact at the Trocadero: *Arx Americana* and the Primitivist Revolution" by Elizabeth A. Williams, "The Ethnic Art Market in the American Southwest, 1880–1980" by Edwin L. Wade, "On Having a Culture: Nationalism and the Preservation of Quebec's *Patrimoine*" by Richard Handler, "Writing on the History of Archeology: A Survey of Trends" by Bruce G. Trigger, and "Objects and Selves—An Afterword" by James Clifford.

The contributions are somewhat ambivalently directed. Some locate museology within the history of knowledge; others place it within the history of anthropology per se. Comparatively little attention is paid to archaeology's role in promoting nineteenth-century enthusiasm for collecting anthropological artifacts and for displaying them in formal "scientific" museums; archaeology does not find an obvious place in the two previous volumes of the series. At times, archaeology is unfortunately seen here as a rival rather than as a complement to anthropology or ethnography. It might have been more fruitful to examine the mutually reinforcing interests of collectors, such as Henry Christy, Pitt Rivers, and Gustav Klemm, in archaeology and ethnography and these collectors' departure from the traditional emphases on high Oriental and classical civilizations and on aesthetic values (pp. 55–56).

The editor expresses a somewhat hostile attitude toward museums, which is strange in a book of this kind. He sees museums as recent institutions, "distinctly material" (p. 4), products of economic growth, nationalism, and imperial domination, and accumulations of cultural property that possibly contributed "to a degrading and distancing objectification of the 'Others' who had made the objects, and who were themselves literally objectified in museum displays" (pp. 4, 5, 114). More successful in bringing to life the achievements and dilemmas of diverse museum orientations is Jacknis's essay on Boas's exhibition techniques.

The bibliographic apparatus of the book needs improvement. Full first names of authors are omitted, making authors difficult to identify. This is especially significant because Stocking cites many largely inaccessible draft manuscripts, unpublished typescripts, dissertations, and Hungarian articles (p. 14). More important and available works are left out, particularly for European anthropology, such as Klemm's *Allgemeine Culturwissenschaft* (1854–55) and more recent studies such as Joan Evans's *Time and Chance* (1943), Kenneth Hudson's *A Social History of Archaeology* (1981), and *Histoires de l'anthropologie (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, edited by Britta Rupp-Eisenreich (1984). Bibliographic names and subjects, at least recent ones, are not indexed. Stocking seems to try to justify such unbalanced citation by a general disclaimer in the acknowledgments to his own essay: "Insofar as it [this essay] draws on other published

and unpublished research I have done . . . there are other less immediate debts that I hereby anonymously reacknowledge" (p. 142). This vague form of reference seems unworthy of a series aspiring to real scholarship. The book also lacks a unified list of illustrations and their sources.

Despite these flaws, which can be corrected with some time and effort, the book is an admirable attempt, particularly by younger scholars in the American context, to come to grips with the history of museum anthropology. Unfortunately, little permanent funding supports research and teaching in the history of anthropology as an independent subject within anthropology, history, history of science, or museum studies. One hopes that future attempts at institutionalization of this field will establish career paths for the younger persons who now have no hope of support beyond the doctorate.

JOAN LEOPOLD  
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SHARON E. KINGSLAND. *Modeling Nature: Episodes in the History of Population Ecology*. (Science and Its Conceptual Foundations.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1985. Pp. ix, 267. \$27.50.

Ecology was a relative latecomer among the sciences. It had not been dreamed of when Auguste Comte set forth his pyramid of the sciences, placing mathematics and astronomy at the top and physiology and his *sociologie* at the base. Presumably, Comte would have inserted ecology between physiology and sociology arguing that it would become a "positive" science to the degree that it used mathematics and emulated the older physical sciences. The history of ecology has, similarly, been one of the last specialties to be taken up by historians of science. And, as Sharon E. Kingsland demonstrates, the Comtean strategy was not forgotten. The first and most pervasive figure in her story, Alfred Lotka (1880–1949), was in fact a physical chemist and demographic statistician. Lotka was hardly aware of contemporary ecologists when he published his classic *Elements of Mathematical Biology* in 1925, and his ideas—stressing a systems approach, advocating the mathematical treatment of prey-predator relationships, and ultimately aiming at problems of human demography—were too advanced to gain much hearing at the time. He was discouraged, a man whose intentions were out of synchronization with the rest of the scholarly world. Kingsland's treatment of him is appropriately careful and sympathetic.

Kingsland's book is a twentieth-century tale, and mostly an American one. It spans what might be regarded as the first two generations of population

ecology. The first, beginning after World War I, was characterized by the attempts of mathematicians and statisticians—especially Lotka, Vito Volterra and Raymond Pearl—to develop equations describing the growth of populations under maximum and constrained conditions. They frequently employed analogies with simpler physical and chemical systems. To her credit Kingsland does justice to both theory and mathematics at a level of mathematical difficulty digestible by all but the most mathematicophobic historians.

Emerging after World War II, the second generation—led by Evelyn Hutchinson, David Lack, Robert MacArthur, and others—had a stronger biological orientation and also sought to integrate their subject with the work of population geneticists. Bridging these generations, and giving much impetus to the second, was the Russian G. F. Gause, whose enunciation of the “principle of competitive exclusion” formed the basis for subsequent discussions of the concept of the ecological niche.

Kingsland thoughtfully and conscientiously treats a virtually untouched subject. The book draws its unity from a number of tensions that persist throughout the period she studies: the beauty and simplicity of mathematical modeling versus the uncertainties and complexities of the reality that is to be modeled; the ease of constructing theories versus the difficulties of experimentation and tedium of field work; the search for ecological truths versus the drive for personal career advancement; and the preference of mathematicians for fixed, ahistorical structures versus the urge of evolutionary biologists to account for change. (The latter issue will be familiar to historians who have struggled to balance their desire to uncover broad historical patterns with their love for the unique event or personality.) Kingsland sees much of twentieth-century ecology as a return to the ahistoricism that pervaded Linnean natural history—a reversal of the movement set afoot by Darwin. She would do well to explore other branches of the life sciences in this century for evidence of the kinds of tensions she finds in population ecology.

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MICHAEL S. TEITELBAUM and JAY M. WINTER. *The Fear of Population Decline*. New York: Academic. 1985. Pp. xii, 201.

It is rare to find a work that combines technical mastery of population analysis with a real sensitivity to the settings—both past and present—in which demographic issues are debated. Michael S. Teitelbaum and Jay M. Winter have written such a study, which should be of interest to a nonspecialist

audience concerned with ways that the problem of population decline has become inextricably intertwined with larger social questions.

Chapter 1 contains a lucid discussion of the different ways that population decline may be defined and measured. The story of attitudes begins with the French “depopulation” controversy of the late nineteenth century, when military defeat added urgency to Frenchmen’s concern over their country’s sluggish demographic growth. Teitelbaum and Winter believe that the French obsession with the demographic aspect of their decline was misguided, amounting to a kind of collective neurosis that concealed more important causes of military inferiority. The authors next turn to the eugenics movement, which, they argue, was diverted from its goal of human improvement when fears of population decline among existing or self-appointed social and “racial” elites gained increased respectability. The rest of the book treats post-World War II trends in the developed world; it traces the short-lived nature of the “baby boom” outside of North America and, more recently, the growing concern of governments in the first and second worlds with the slow pace of demographic increase.

Teitelbaum and Winter have written this book to illustrate through historical example that fears of population decline have become misplaced focuses of undue social anxiety. The authors are sanguine about the developed world’s ability to adapt to current slow growth rates, if indeed these rates are maintained—a wager that they are not prepared to make. Indeed, they suggest that the ability of populations in the developed world to adjust their rates of reproduction has made demographic prediction more difficult.

The book is both more and less than a study of fears of population decline. In particular, the discussion of the period immediately after World War II strays from the central theme. Yet it stands as a caveat to demonstrate the reversibility of decline, at least in the short term. The study would have benefited greatly from an expansion of its historical perspective. A discussion of the pre-Malthusian roots of the fear of population decline would have made the continuing appeal of this style of thinking more comprehensible. The authors clearly did not wish to go into much detail in their historical examples. When captivated by a source, however, as in their engaging textual analysis of Zola’s *Fécondité*, they demonstrate an ability to work with a wide range of materials and to exploit them in depth.

The authors’ very interesting distinction among the various forms of population decline (pp. 10–11) tends to be obscured, thus weakening the link between the technical and narrative aspects of their work. Discussing the specific type of population decline at work in a historical setting might also have

illuminated the social responses to it. Nevertheless, the book ultimately succeeds in making the recent history of fears of this multifaceted phenomenon both interesting and accessible. Teitelbaum and Winter have thus contributed to integrating an understanding of demographic problems and the study of social attitudes.

KATHERINE A. LYNCH  
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RICHARD L. GREAVES, editor. *Triumph over Silence: Women in Protestant History*. (Contributions to the Study of Religion, number 15.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1985. Pp. xii, 295. \$35.00.

In his preface to this volume editor Richard L. Greaves perceived "a crying need for a full-length study of women in Protestant history" yet recognized that his book was only a step in the "ultimate achievement of that goal" (p. xi). Noting that most studies of women in Protestantism have focused on specific periods such as the Reformation or Colonial America, he sought to provide a broader, though not a comprehensive, view. Through contributions by nine authors Greaves has indeed brought together information from all centuries and many varieties of Protestantism, but, even granting the limitations of a medium-length volume, the narrow scope is disappointing. If Greaves found in existing materials an overemphasis on the Reformation and Colonial America, why did he not seek out essays in unexplored areas? Instead, we find two essays on the Reformation (one covering the Lutherans and Calvinists, the other the Anabaptists), two essays on seventeenth-century English Nonconformists, and four essays on American Protestants (Puritans, Methodists, abolitionists, and Presbyterians). The final chapter combines both American and English branches of the Anglican communion. Missing is any discussion of Continental European Protestants after the sixteenth century. The result, which appears to combine English and American perspectives, is little more than a study of American Protestants with their English and Reformation backgrounds.

Because numerous studies in these areas are readily available, several authors had little need to move beyond secondary material. Even when the primary sources are cited in the footnotes, readers familiar with the field will recognize sources previously used by other scholars. Perhaps the strongest exception to this is the contribution of V. Nelle Bellamy, whose detailed information on the numbers of Anglican women serving in various capacities testifies to her use of the archives.

Series editor Henry Bowden attributed to the authors a "shared awareness that larger social con-

texts contributed to understanding religious action in various epochs" (p. x). Nevertheless, such awareness did not for the most part lead them to take more than passing note of social contexts. The main exception here is Gerald Moran's study of Puritan women, which integrates demographic, family, and religious history.

In the attempt to cover a relatively broad topic, several of the articles move quickly over a large amount of information, not stopping long enough to draw attention to any individual women. Frederick Norwood's study of women in Methodism is in the style of a chronicle. By contrast, Blanche Glassman Hersh's biographical focus creates interest in particular women of the abolitionist movement and provides greater appreciation of their religious motivation.

The above is sufficient to indicate a certain lack of uniformity among the articles. Some are well organized and systematic, others rough and repetitious. A few are held together by a thesis, but the theses tend to be shallow and noncontroversial. The goal of the editors is not clearly stated, but the volume is more successful as a textbook than as a scholarly contribution. Researchers already familiar with the field will find little that is new or engaging. For those seeking an introduction to the topic, on the other hand, both the articles, with their extensive footnotes, and the appended suggestions for further reading will provide a solid basis on which to build.

JOYCE IRWIN  
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CHARLES LLOYD COHEN, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1986. Pp. xiv, 310. \$29.95.

In this book Charles Lloyd Cohen describes the Puritan theology and piety of conversion and investigates their function in the Puritan communities of both England and New England. The first part presents "the preachers' model of conversion" (p. 242) by tracing it through their views of sin, the covenant, the order of salvation, and the fruits of the new birth. The second part surveys the response to the preachers through lay testimonies to conversion, the influence of sermons on the laity, and sustained attention to selected narratives of conversion and reconversion (particularly that of John Winthrop). Thus, the book relies both on printed sermons and treatises and on lay documents of personal confession. A principal conclusion is that Puritan piety did not create a series of unresolvable tensions for those immersed in it, as has often been asserted, but that it solved the problems it raised insofar as those who underwent conversion progressed from the weakness of sin to a sense of



empowerment by grace leading to active Christian virtue. For Cohen, Puritanism was a comforting faith, and the Puritan laity was satisfied with the spiritual guidance received from the ministers, the Hutchinsonians notwithstanding.

Cohen's analysis of Puritan conversion is marked by a high degree of methodological self-consciousness. Building on earlier studies of Puritanism as a movement and system of thought (with more appreciation for than agreement in detail with Perry Miller), Cohen concentrates on Puritanism "as a form of religious expression" (p. 279), in particular as an affective mentality in which a specific configuration of ideas was related to a particular kind of religious experience, which, in turn, led to characteristically Puritan forms of activity and community. As such, Cohen takes Puritanism in its own terms rather than reducing it to some other meaning, even though those terms are illuminated by psychosocial analyses drawn from Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Max Weber, and Clifford Geertz. The focus on piety as the heart of Puritanism is in keeping with other recent work on the Puritans, especially that of Charles Hambrick-Stowe (*The Practice of Piety* [1982]), and is a major contribution to an important trend in Puritan studies.

The book has many other strengths. It is well (and sometimes lightly) written and evidences a fresh, inquiring, and occasionally playful mind. The "Elect Bibliography" and rich notes demonstrate wide reading in secondary materials, including some not always mined by historians, such as articles on Reformed theology by contemporary evangelical scholars and a large sample of the psychological literature on conversion. Taking Puritan thought seriously as biblical exegesis (like the earlier works of Paul S. Coolidge and J. Sears McGee), the author himself delves into exegetical studies, with usually helpful results, although one must be careful not to conflate Puritan interpretations with twentieth-century renditions of the biblical outlook. Cohen's fine discussion of the relation of freedom to necessity and secondary causality in Puritan thought would, if heeded, obviate some of the less informed remarks about Puritan determinism that are still made. Cohen's emphasis on the importance of love in Puritan piety is well taken, and he convincingly shows its relationship even to the forbidding doctrine of the divine decrees, although one might quibble that he fails to see the extent to which Puritan thinkers muddled the waters of New Testament *agape* with Thomistic-Aristotelian interpretations of love.

My chief misgiving about this book concerns the application of the notion of reconversion to Winthrop and, analogously, to Puritanism as a whole. Why deal only with Winthrop when other Puritan accounts also speak of renewing the cove-

nant? And why describe such renewal as reconversion at all, since to so describe it moves beyond the Puritans' own language and suggests something theoretically in tension with the Calvinistic tenet of the saints' perseverance. To speak of covenant renewal simply as a recapitulation of the steps of conversion would have sufficed and avoided the pitfalls of "reconversion." But Cohen is surely correct in saying that such renewal invigorated "energized saints."

DEWEY D. WALLACE, JR.

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DAVID E. MUNGELLO. *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*. (Studia Leibnitiana, supplementa, number 25.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner. 1985. Pp. 405. DM 96.

JOHN W. WITEK. *Controversial Ideas in China and in Europe: A Biography of Jean-François Fouquet, S. J. (1665-1741)*. (Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S. I., number 43.) Rome: The Institute. 1982. Pp. xv, 494.

One of the odder moments in world intellectual history occurred in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when a small number of European savants attempted to coopt elements from the Chinese intellectual tradition for their own purposes. Their research culminated in the movement commonly called "figurism." Elements of this story have been described in various works by Basil Guy, Donald Lach, and David E. Mungello. Now a second book on this era by Mungello and an erudite new study by John W. Witek enormously increase our knowledge of the issues at stake.

In his fine study, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*, Mungello explores the early roots of figurism with care and precision. Building on some ideas previously developed in his *Leibniz and Confucianism* (1977), Mungello goes well beyond that study to give us an encyclopedic survey of the interconnections between the Chinese Jesuits and the world of European intellectuals. Setting the scene with a clear summary of major trends in late seventeenth-century thought, including the complex searches for universal language and the growth of hermetism, Mungello pauses on Matteo Ricci and his immediate successors before focusing on the legacy they left to his central characters, the remarkable trio of Athanasius Kircher, Andreas Müller, and Christian Mentzel. Mungello is sympathetic to their extraordinary scholarly ventures, which he describes as "proto-Sinology." In these ventures their search for a key to universal understanding depended on their frail understanding of the structure of Chinese language, from which they had tried to construct a "Clavis Sinica."

A reader today, even one seriously interested in those controversies, is bound to find the intellectual lives of these great seventeenth-century scholars bizarre in the extreme, quixotic, or even totally futile. But, by his compassionate scholarship, Mungello shows how tenaciously they tried to use what they understood of China to bring order to the fragmented worlds of contemporary European culture. "Kircher," he writes, "acted the part of the historical link in joining the Lullian Combinatory Art, the search for a universal language and the Chinese language for certain thinkers who followed him and who, on the basis of his information, postulated new connections between these three elements" (p. 188). And, by carefully describing the other manifold tracks that Francis Bacon, John Webb, and Leibniz himself followed as they sought to trace "primitive" and "real" languages or the "real characters" manifested by Egyptian hieroglyphs or Chinese ideographs, Mungello helps us with what he neatly terms "the difficulty of sorting out the substantive from the ludicrous" (p. 174).

In the concluding chapter of his book Mungello takes us into the editorial worlds of Philippe Couplet, Charles le Gobien, and Louis le Comte and gives a brief account of the flowering of the figurist movement in the writing of Joachim Bouvet. He especially notes Bouvet's intellectual debts to hermetism and his influence on Leibniz. Mungello's book thus serves as an admirable introduction to Witek's intensely detailed study of the Jesuit Jean-François Foucquet (1665–1741). Foucquet's labors represented the culminating stage of the figurist movement, and his passionate conviction that he had found the answers to a number of baffling and crucial problems of Christian theology in the coded language of the Chinese classics won him a reputation for eccentricity even in his own time. Therefore, he has been largely ignored since then, and most of his work remains unpublished.

With amazing intellectual patience, and by dint of protracted archival searching, Witek unravels the curious workings of Foucquet's mind. Especially learned in studies of the *Book of Changes*—on account of which Emperor K'ang-hsi summoned him to court in 1711—Foucquet concluded at an early date that the sequence of broken and unbroken lines in the Chinese hexagrams provided answers to a number of pressing problems. As Witek summarizes this revelation: "Foucquet believed that each small line presupposed a corresponding number which should have some property that was like an image of virtue or of a mystery of the Savior or of some important event in His Church. Since all the Chinese classics were prophetic, each in its own way contained a history of religion" (p. 155). Readers of Mungello's book could have been given a rich understanding of how to view such a vision contextu-

ally; Witek himself takes Foucquet's arguments so for granted that we barely raise an eyebrow at his assertion that Foucquet later had embraced the famous Taoist classic the *Tao Te Ching* in the same Christian schema and declared the text to be "only a veil of sacred emblems and enigmas on the Trinity and the Incarnation" (p. 213).

Despite the assiduity and erudition of Witek's research, Foucquet remains an elusive figure, and all the biographer's ingenuity cannot really bring him fully to life. In a rather sad coda we see Foucquet in Rome from 1723 to 1741, visited by an occasional curious traveler such as Montesquieu and Joseph Spence but unable to convince the world of either the centrality or the profundity of his insights. Like most of the figures analyzed by Mungello, Foucquet's erudition and energy had also amounted to very little.

JONATHAN D. SPENCE  
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J. A. MANGAN. *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal*. New York: Viking, 1985. Pp. 239. \$20.00.

A substantial literature now exists on the development of sport in different social contexts. Most studies have been concerned with Europe and the United States, and, in comparison, much less is known about the worldwide diffusion of Western notions of sport. This book by J. A. Mangan goes some way toward remedying this situation, at least from the perspective of some of the societies that were once subjects of the British empire.

In the first two chapters of his book Mangan takes up the story he previously developed in his *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (1981). Educators in British public schools of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries considered team games the ideal medium for inculcating qualities such as initiative, perseverance, self-reliance, loyalty, and obedience. Through case studies of headmasters at Loretto, Winchester, and Harrow and through a review of the school magazines of Eton, Haileybury, and Cheltenham, Mangan shows the widespread belief in sport as an ethical training ground for the future leaders of the British empire.

Four further chapters focus on individuals and institutions in other parts of the world and show how the "games ethic" was exported from Britain. In the selection of officers for the prestigious Sudan Political Service, a background of achievement in sport was as important as academic standing and attendance at the old established public schools and Oxbridge. Through promoting the establishment of boarding schools and colleges in which sport played a significant role in the curriculum, Lord Frederick



Lugard attempted to carry British educational ideas to Hong Kong and Nigeria. The public school ideal was carried even more successfully to India in the training of the sons of the aristocracy. Cricket, especially, was enthusiastically promoted as a means of "character building" for indigenous leaders who were destined to be the junior partners of Britain in the system of indirect rule. In Canada British sports were also introduced in public schools, but American influences such as football and winter and wilderness sports helped produce a distinctive Canadian sporting identity. In a final chapter the role of missionaries who introduced "muscular Christianity" throughout the British empire is considered.

Mangan's book is as much a study of British ethnocentrism as of sport in the empire. Within what is now called the Third World, others need to look at how the study of sport can contribute to knowledge of local society, both indigenous and colonial. C. L. R. James's account of cricket in the colonial society of Trinidad, *Beyond a Boundary* (1963), is a classic and stands almost alone in the field. With this stimulating work of Mangan, new directions for future research have been pointed out.

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LEWIS PYENSON. *Cultural Imperialism and Exact Sciences: German Expansion Overseas, 1900–1930*. (Studies in History and Culture, number 1.) New York: Peter Lang. 1985. Pp. xvi, 342.

The core of this book consists of three case studies of the work of German scientists overseas in the early twentieth century: the operation of a geophysical research station in German Samoa, the participation of Germans in establishing theoretical physics and related disciplines in Argentine universities, and the activities of German scientists at Tsingtao and Shanghai in China. Lewis Pyenson attempts to connect the case studies with an interpretive framework that represents them as examples of "cultural imperialism," the dynamics of which he claims to illuminate.

The individual cases are described in narrative form, with the archival sources on which they are based very much in evidence. Details abound on the careers of the scientists involved, on administrative problems, professional jealousies, and faculty politicking, and on the scientific backgrounds of the projects. Sometimes the author clarifies the relevance of the details to the rest of the study; sometimes he does not. The detailed treatment makes for difficult reading, but it is also the book's great virtue: it allows specialists in many different fields to find items related to their own interests. Historians of

physical science, German imperialism, Argentina, modern China, and the Pacific will all discover something of value. They will probably find the analytical and explanatory elements less valuable. Despite attempts at the beginning and end of the book and occasional insightful comments in the course of the narrative, the author does not give a clear explanation of what "cultural imperialism" is and what causes it, either in general or in the specific cases he describes.

One of the main reasons for this deficiency is the author's relative neglect of factors intermediate between the day-to-day activities of his subjects and broad, vaguely defined phenomena such as "imperialism." The experiences of scientists in wheeling money out of government departments on grounds of maintaining German prestige abroad may indeed tell us something about the nature of cultural imperialism in general. But, unless we know the specific circumstances that led officials to place a prestige value on the export of pure science, these experiences do not tell us much. In one of the cases discussed—geophysics in Samoa—the German Colonial Office and the local governor, Wilhelm Solf, clearly were instrumental in the project's success. We are never really told why they were interested. The author makes no apparent use of a good deal of published material (Eberhard von Vietsch's biography of Solf, for instance, and Werner Schieffell's study of Colonial Secretary Bernhard Dernburg) that might help illuminate the thinking behind the official policy of "scientific colonialism." Overall, Pyenson makes few serious attempts to relate his analysis to the large body of literature on the sources of German imperialism. Unfortunately, he was unable to refer to the several recent studies of German *Kulturpolitik* overseas.

This study is useful and interesting but has significant interpretive limitations.

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DAVID HARVEY. *The Urbanization of Capital: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1985. Pp. xvii, 239. \$22.50.

DAVID HARVEY. *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1985. Pp. xix, 293. \$22.50.

In these companion volumes David Harvey probes social and political consequences of spatial aspects of urbanization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To fathom some of the complexities of the development, he uses Marxist concepts as guidelines

for an analytical framework that seeks both to recognize modes of living based on capitalism and to identify their roles as instruments of class struggle. He strives to accomplish two goals: to integrate geography into Marxist theory and to apply it to the study of urbanization, thus balancing the attention generally given to time and history with an awareness of the significance of space and geography.

*The Urbanization of Capital* is devoted to the pursuit of the first goal. The author emphasizes the control of space to explain the dynamics of capitalism. He deftly finds his enlarged perspective in the range of thought from Karl Marx to Henri Lefèbvre. His arguments underline the importance of urbanization in Lefèbvre's expansion of Marxist theory, which views the "urban revolution" of the twentieth century as the successor of the "industrial revolution" in the nineteenth. The present stage of capitalism, the author argues, has culminated in the extraordinary postwar urbanization fostered by capitalism to placate a distinct group of white-collar workers, to maintain a market for products, and to expand consumption. In that context urbanization, which once produced the city as a concentration of people in a limited locale, has become the means to use, produce, and control economic surpluses. The author sees the development as the interaction of the laws of accumulation, rent and finance capital, class and residence, and urban politics fused with geopolitical strategies operating in a process presaged by Marx.

*Consciousness and the Urban Experience* deals with the application of Marxist theory to the study of Paris between 1850 and 1870. The author focuses on the social and spatial transformation of the French capital during the Second Empire and assesses the reorganization of spatial relations along tightly interwoven themes. Harvey deals with finance capital, the propertied interest, and the state and then turns from these instruments of distribution to a discussion of production and labor, including a review of the position of women at home and at work. In an attempt to expose levels of ideology and degrees of consciousness affected by the change of the urban setting, the author probes the reality and vision of a set of related concepts—community and class, science and sentiment, rhetoric and speculation—to discover what people did with what they knew or imagined. Within that transformation of urban society and space the author locates the roots of the Commune. Although the events between March and May 1871 are outside his scope, he illuminates one aspect of their complex heritage in a review of the early history of the Basilica of Sacré-Cœur.

The studies consist, to a considerable extent, of reprints of articles, at times revised or rewritten, which the author had published in journals or

collections of essays. In the volume devoted to theory six out of eight chapters fall into this category of reprints, in the other, two out of five. The revisions aim at putting the materials into their historical contexts, but the intention has not been carried quite far enough. An appropriate historical perspective could have been gained through systematic references to the impact of geographic change on other nineteenth-century European capitals, such as Munich and Vienna. In the theoretical perspective an evaluation of Henry George's ideas is missing. On occasion the editing is casual. For instance, statements remain in the text about "the focus of attention in this paper" (*Consciousness*, p. 61) or refer to the limited space of a chapter curtailing discussion of a subject when an entire book is now at the author's disposal. Robert Musil's first name is given as Thomas, Georg Simmel's appears in its French form, and Friedrich Engels's in its English variant, and Georges-Eugène Haussmann loses the last *n* but gains "von," a German and Austrian mark of nobility. The life span of Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847) is reduced to 1821–26, the publication date of the three volumes of his *Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*.

The documentation predominantly consists of references to secondary materials. That approach effectively scans those comments on historical events that have the right theoretical potential, but without recourse to primary sources it also limits the range of the analysis. After all, the statements the author uses have been extracted from the sources by other writers pursuing their own topics. Even when the author takes a direct look at evidence, the results are rather limited at times. Referring to Eugène Delacroix's painting, *Liberty Leading the People*, he follows the conventional (bourgeois) identification of the major figures. He does not raise the question, significant in the context of Marxist theory, of why the people as embodiment of the correct impulses need to be led at all, nor does he assess C. G. Jung's view that Liberty symbolizes the function of the anima freeing subconscious resources.

The urbanization of capital and consciousness, which the companion volumes postulate as a stage in the dynamics of capitalism, assigns a special significance to urban history as a field of study. Both books have a lot to contribute to meet that challenge. In particular they offer many perceptive insights by raising questions about people and space or indicating lines of inquiry into class and gender. In both volumes, however, the weight of theory in search of a process smothers the historical life of the city.

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DIRK HOERDER, editor. *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies: The European and North American Working Classes during the Period of Industrialization*. (Contributions in Labor History, number 16.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1985. Pp. xvi, 491. \$55.00.

Dirk Hoerder has compiled a diverse collection of eighteen essays of which only seven have been previously published. This anthology is representative of a growing scholarship concerned with the complex process of voluntary labor migration to and within the industrializing economies between 1815 and 1919. The editor, seeking to correct the bias of American immigration history, has selected papers that mostly document the extent of migration within Europe from south to north and east to west, especially from the 1880s.

The collection is divided into three themes: the dynamics of labor migration in Europe, acculturation in Europe and North America, and return migration. Essays devoted to major labor exporting and importing countries document the impact of uneven economic and demographic development on the flow of labor. None of the essays go beyond the methodological and conceptual framework of Brindley Thomas's analysis of the nineteenth-century Anglo-American migration of capital and labor. They do, however, specify patterns of migration on the Continent and between Europe and the United States that are similar to those between Britain and the United States. Although few of the essays specifically adopt the concept of an Atlantic migration or of an international working class, they generally confirm the essential commonality between migrations between Europe and North America and those within Europe. If many historians have long recognized the importance of Italian migration across the Alps as well as over the Atlantic and, perhaps less often, the significance of Polish settlements in the coal fields of the Ruhr in addition to those of western Pennsylvania, then these essays do offer convenient documentation of the extent of intra-European labor migration. Nancy Green's essay on immigration into France before World War I reveals a little-appreciated consequence of low French population growth, and articles by Hans Norman, Harald Runblom, Heinz Fassmann, and Claudius Riegler document the less known patterns of Nordic and Austrian migrations. Papers by Klaus Bade and Gianfausto Rosoli provide comparative analyses of intra-European migrations and labor movements to North America. Although these essays are largely descriptive, they are not simply national surveys of population movements. They indicate the trend away from permanent immigration and toward temporary labor migration within the broad labor market of Europe and North America in the late nineteenth century.

The essays concerning acculturation focus on ethnicity and trade union organization in Vienna, Milwaukee, and the Ruhr. These solid papers offer new sophistication to the old topic of the conflict between appeals of ethnicity and class in the formation of effective labor organizations. In the afterword Eric Hobsbawm presents a broad analysis of a similar problem of the conflicts between nationalism and working-class politics in Ireland in the generation before World War I. William Sewell's well-known article on internal migration and militancy during the revolution of 1848 is republished as is Elizabeth Cohen's fine study of immigrant adaptation and resistance to middle-class American domestic standards.

The theme of return migration plays a less significant role in this anthology largely because of the problems of collecting data. Still, Lars-Göran Tedebrand not only presents a careful analysis of return migration to Sweden between 1880 and 1930 but also offers a framework for research elsewhere. He finds that return migration did not contribute to Swedish urbanization and in general that international migration often enabled rural populations to avoid proletarian status in Swedish towns. Essays concerning Croatian and Finnish migration as well as the myth of the permanence of East European Jewish immigration are of interest to specialists.

Despite the size and diversity of this collection, the editor's objectives in compiling this anthology are quite modest. He and most of the contributors attempt neither to offer a comprehensive theory of an Atlantic migration nor to fashion a structure of an international labor market. Yet these essays will provide grist for the mill of those seeking to contribute to a new interpretation of the flow of labor in the nineteenth century. This volume is also a useful collection of information not easily accessible to the general reader.

GARY CROSS

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AUGUST NITSCHKE. *Junge Rebellen: Mittelalter, Neuzeit, Gegenwart: Kinder verändern die Welt*. (Kösel Sachbuch.) Munich: Kösel. 1985. Pp. 167. DM 28.

The accounts of childhood rebellions dating from Western Europe in the sixth and seventh centuries, August Nitschke claims, often center on the rebellious act of going to a church or monastery to learn to read. Since the eighteenth century youthful rebellion has more often taken the form of interpersonal struggle for autonomy. In the periods between Nitschke identifies several "epoch-typical" forms of the expression of the yearnings and fanta-

sies that have put young people at odds with their elders.

This epoch-straddling juxtaposition is at times provocative, if only because it illustrates the tremendous changes in assumptions about the nature of childhood and youth and in the forms chosen to relate childhood experiences. All the evidence brought to bear is either autobiographical or biographical. The analysis of the earliest periods rests on approximately eighty available accounts of people who lived in the Frankish lands in the sixth and seventh centuries. For the more recent periods—the High Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—evidence is drawn haphazardly from the more voluminous autobiographical literature available.

Nitschke wants both to account for the variations in form and effect of youthful rebellion and to use insights derived from his study to say something about the evolving perceptions of time and space he believes underlie the switches in form of rebellion across these loosely defined epochs. Needless to say, that is an ambitious task. This book, based on an unsystematic reading of autobiographical literature and characterized by a lack of attention to the social, family, and cultural history of the epochs described, cannot take us very far toward its accomplishment.

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JEROLD M. STARR, editor. *Cultural Politics: Radical Movements in Modern History*. New York: Praeger. 1985. Pp. xxiv, 344. \$29.95.

The alleged purpose of this book is an examination of the relationship between art and politics in eras in which radicals claimed that art could serve as a weapon in the class struggle and in which culture became a tool of political liberation. Unfortunately, the book's reach exceeds its grasp. Inspired by a National Endowment for the Humanities seminar directed by Bennett Berger, this volume attempts an interdisciplinary approach to cultural radicalism through the use of historical case studies.

Whatever claims this anthology may make as sociology, it fails as both history and literary criticism. Its conceptualization is often anachronistic and ahistorical. There are sweeping generalizations such as Frank T. Edgar's assertion: "In a sense, symbol production is the vocational purpose for which poets live," (p. 1), which hardly accounts for the work of epic poets such as Homer and Virgil or poets of outrage such as Allen Ginsberg. The English romantics treated by Edgar certainly did not view themselves as symbol makers, for they lived prior to the symbolist movement and conceived of their poetic praxis in terms of allegory and meta-

phor, not symbols. Further, they do not all qualify as radicals since Wordsworth was horrified by the French revolution and spurned radical social change achieved by violence. Jerold M. Starr makes a similarly preposterous claim for romantics by ignoring historical complexity: "From the eighteenth century to the present, Romantics have championed the rights of the downtrodden: women, youth, peasants, and the other oppressed classes" (p. 299). Few feminists would embrace Rousseau as their champion, and few victims of the Holocaust would celebrate the cultural roots of Nazism in the German romanticism of Wagner and Nietzsche.

The historical case studies at best are competent synopses of secondary materials; at worst the research is shoddy and specious. Irwin Marcus cites the full run of *The Masses* in his notes, but he labels its dates of publication as 1912–18 instead of 1911–17 (p. 76). In Douglas B. Gutknecht's article on Marcus Garvey's movement E. David Cronon's seminal biography is listed as by Chronon (pp. 146, 150), and Gilbert Osofsky's classic study of Harlem is credited consistently to Frank Ofsky (pp. 134, 135, 152). That scholars who actually consulted these sources could make such egregious errors is hard to believe. Although many of the articles list primary sources in their bibliographies, few include any consideration of them in their text. As a result, this anthology hardly qualifies as history because it eschews the historian's essential materials.

The language of these essays serves to obfuscate rather than illuminate the issues. There are impenetrable sentences such as: "Instrumental clarification or expressive elaboration becomes a process of adjustment, changes, and compromise in the face of inevitable opposition forces, both internal and, more important, external" (p. 142). The contributors' penchant for sociological jargon denies the historical specificity of events as sociological types flatten significant distinctions. Thus, romantic radicalism is portrayed as celebrating the value of the individual over class and society when, in fact, some of the romantic radicals such as Whitman touted their solidarity with all humankind and others such as Coleridge sought mystical annihilation of the self. This volume assumes that one can achieve linguistic resolution of the tensions between art and politics—that correct concepts can effect social change. As a result, it pays scant attention to the historical circumstances that seem to have universally undermined the radical cultural movements under consideration.

The contributors' conceptualizations tend to be reductionist. Marcus attributes the decline of the Greenwich Village revolt of 1910–20 to "the combination of internal defects and the detrimental effects of the government repression associated with



World War I and the Red Scare" yet never explores these issues systematically (p. 52). Instead, he cites the loss of key individuals as being responsible for the decline of radicalism. Gutknecht provides a superficial account of Garvey's movement and reduces Garvey's program to "a unique blend of cultural-expressive and instrumental-political themes" (p. 142), thereby avoiding an exploration of how Garvey rendered so powerful the symbol of an African homeland to a people who had never experienced Africa and who simultaneously proclaimed the New Negro's Americanism during the Harlem Renaissance.

The anthology oversimplifies and distorts historical data. The authors tend to view the Protestant work ethic and rationalism as tools of the capitalist class and thereby ignore the pioneering work of labor historians Bruce Laurie and Paul Faler that indicates that nineteenth-century Philadelphia artisans and Lynn shoemakers adopted the new industrial morality for class-conscious ends. Starr argues that "the most distinctive characteristics of the New Left were its rejection of ideology and its open organizational style," (p. 243), as if the Progressive Labor party and the Weather Underground were not authentic parts of the evolution of the New Left. Starr attempts to distinguish the New Left revolt of the 1960s from all previous revolutionary movements by claiming that the earlier movements "were concerned exclusively with political reforms to achieve liberty or economic reforms to reduce inequality and provide relief from poverty" (p. 297), whereas the social movements of blacks, women, and youth decried the lack of a sense of personal dignity, identity, and worth. Starr thereby neglects the strong impulse of black pride that characterized the Harlem Renaissance, the attempts by Greenwich Village radicals of the 1910s to fuse Marxism, Freudianism, and feminism to create healthier radical psyches, and the irony that the feminist group Bread and Roses of the 1960s derived its name from a banner held by a female picketer at the Lawrence Strike of 1912, asserting the workers' claims to dignity and fulfillment: "We want bread and roses too!"

This book merely calls for a proliferation of the devices—newspapers, lobbies, opinion polls—that already exist to serve the interests of popular democratic movements. It begs the question of why a purely quantitative change should radically alter the nature of society. If humanist reason alone can effect social change, then this volume could be measurably improved by swallowing large doses of the medicine it prescribes.

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GERHARD SCHULZ, editor. *Partisanen und Volkskrieg: Zur Revolutionierung des Krieges im 20. Jahrhundert*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1985. Pp. 179.

This excellent survey deals with one of the major military causes of the German catastrophe: the impetus given by the democratic, French, and industrial revolutions to revolutionary people's armies. Gerhard Schulz's introductory essay sketches irregular, partisan, and guerrilla forces since the eighteenth century. Peasants, frontiersmen, and workers somehow had to be turned into disciplined defenders of Europe's modernizing national states. Partisans, by definition, were irregulars suitable for use in situations in which old-fashioned regulars might not move except to desert. From South Carolina and the Vendée to Spain and Russia, military reformers such as Carl von Clausewitz saw irregulars as particularly useful in surprise or delaying actions. The danger for monarchs who enlisted "the passions of the people in this great affair of state" was that they would demand a share in directing the state.

Two chapters deal with twentieth-century Russia, one with the French Resistance during World War II, one with American aid to such forces, and one with China. The primary focus is European. The bibliographies, which are buried in the footnotes, and the register of names and sources are excellent. William J. Donovan, Charles de Gaulle, and Nestor Makhno are the most frequently mentioned military leaders. Fidel Castro, Ernesto Guevara, Ho Chi Minh, and Christiaan De Wet are not. China's partisans are seen as learning their trade from German and Russian advisers. Since Marxist dreams of a global victory of the village over the city or of the workers and peasants over the bourgeoisie did not take place in this century, this work puts Chalmers Johnson's *Autopsy on People's War* (1975) in a Continental European setting. In this context—although it deals with nineteenth-century Spanish guerrillas—the book has nothing to say about anarchism in the Spanish Civil War and the later role of anarchism in what is awkwardly termed "state-sponsored terrorism." But, as an introduction to a military problem of increasing concern to the great powers in a world in which national sovereignty has become the organizing principle of international politics, this work is short, clear, and finely documented.

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#### ANCIENT

ILYA GERSHEVITCH, editor. *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Volume 2, *The Median and Achaemenian Periods*.

New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. xvii, 946. \$59.50.

This volume of the *Cambridge History of Iran* treats what is probably the most important period in the history of ancient Iran, during which the Iranians established an enduring form of government, nurtured the cultural life of the Near East, developed particular religious ideas (of which Zoroastrianism is easily the best example), and left their mark on the Greeks in the West and the Indians in the East. This volume makes a valiant effort to recapture the vitality and importance of a rich and vibrant period.

The editor of the volume had the laudable intention of approaching the topic from an international point of view. As usual in this series, one finds chapters written by experts in particular fields, and, in this respect, Ilya Gershevitch has been more successful and more catholic than have other editors of Cambridge histories. Thus, the reader can find sound discussions of such disparate topics as the achievement of Cyrus the Great by Max Mallowan (chap. 7), the impact of Alexander the Great on Iran by E. Badian (chap. 8), the Babylonian response to Persian rule by A. L. Oppenheim (chap. 10), analysis of archaeological work in Iran by D. Stronach (chaps. 19–20), and much else. Recent events have made research in Iran difficult at the moment, which at least permits scholars to draw breath and to present a synthesis of current findings. In that respect, those interested in ancient Iran and its influence on its neighbors are fortunate to have both this book and the new *History of Ancient Iran* (1984) by R. N. Frye.

To do justice to a book so rich and diverse as this is difficult, but at least an indication of the varied contents can be made. The volume begins with I. M. Diakonoff's chapter on ancient Elam, the part of Iran earliest to reach a sophisticated level of urbanism and social stratification. Diakonoff makes some interesting, but necessarily speculative, observations about the relationship between the early inhabitants of Elam and Sumerians and employs archaeological and linguistic evidence to link the histories of Iran and Mesopotamia. His concise account of the Old Elamite Kingdom is perhaps the best available in English.

Three subsequent chapters treat the political life of early Iran and its neighbors. J. Hansman discusses the history of Anshan (chap. 2), here identified as a region in western Fars, located in southern Iran, which maintained close contact with the Sumerians. In chapter 3 Diakonoff describes both the early history and political organization of Media and the arrival of Iranian-speaking peoples in Iran. The chapter is marked by some thoughtful observations about the nature and significance of prehistoric migrations. In placing Iranian events firmly in

the context of Near Eastern history, he elucidates the struggle between the Assyrians and the new Iranian empire builders. He also brings the history of Iran to the momentous clash of the Medes and Persians with the Greeks.

T. Sulimirski has contributed chapter 4, notable for its content and methodology, on the Scyths. Although he accepts the basic accuracy and veracity of Herodotus's account of the Scyths, he augments Herodotus with modern archaeological findings and linguistic research. Sulimirski identifies the Royal Scyths as Iranians but notes that the Scyths were not a homogeneous people. The Scyths, who inhabited the southern part of Eastern Europe during the first half of the first millennium B.C., were confined to the Crimea by about 200 B.C.. Sulimirski provides a comprehensive synthesis that includes the history, culture, and art of the Scyths.

Chapters 5 through 8 narrate the career of the Achaemenids, the establishment of their empire, their wars with the Greeks, and their eventual defeat by Alexander the Great of Macedonia. These were some of the greatest and most dramatic days of ancient Iranian history, yet little new can be found in J. M. Cook's account (chap. 5) of the rise of the Achaemenids. If much the same can be said of A. R. Burn's treatment (chap. 6) of the Persian invasions of Greece, at least one is grateful for the narrative by a scholar who has often walked the areas where these events took place and who has devoted much time and effort to understanding this epic conflict. Unfortunately, Burn's treatment of the fourth century B.C., which is far less satisfactory, reads like a codicil to Greek history. Here the emphasis is distinctly misplaced, and one should keep in mind that, for the Achaemenids of this century, Greece was a frontier area of far less importance than Egypt or Asia Minor. Singularly welcome is Badian's chapter 8, which deals with Alexander's great invasion of the East. The reader can only be grateful to the leading authority on the career of Alexander for a sane interpretation of events that have often and recently been badly misinterpreted.

Chapters dealing with specialized aspects of Iranian history, life, and rule in the ancient Near East enhance the historical narrative. Particularly important is Oppenheim's study of Achaemenid rule in Mesopotamia (chap. 10), which is a valuable contribution to ancient history. E. Bresciani relies on scantier sources to treat the Persians in Egypt (chap. 9). Thereafter, various scholars discuss such specific topics as Achaemenid weights and measures (chap. 12), Iranian religion (chap. 14), the significance of Aramaic in the Persian empire (chap. 15), Persian calendars (chap. 16), and art and archaeology (chaps. 17–21). Thus, the volume attempts to draw a full picture of the Iranian contribution to ancient life during this period.



As usual with the Cambridge histories, this book is richly illustrated with separate photographic plates, photographs and line drawings in the text, and maps. Although the line drawings, which usually depict artifacts or archaeological plans, are very helpful, the maps are uniformly poor. The reader will look in vain for a map bearing such basic cartographic features as contours and meridians. Indeed, one wonders why such poor specimens were included in the first place. Nevertheless, the editor's desire to present the pictorial evidence is usually successful, and the integration of illustrations and text is a notable virtue of this work. The bibliographies accompanying the chapters are, on the whole, distinctly elderly, but the index is helpful and full.

Despite the volume's undeniable merits, at least two significant criticisms must be leveled against it. First, no serious attention is given to the part played by Iran in the larger history of the Orient, even though Darius extended Persian rule to the Indus valley. Thus, the editor ignores Iran's impact on ancient Indian history in particular and on East Asian history in general. This major defect obscures a vital aspect of Persian influence on the life of neighboring peoples, and therefore the book gives an incomplete and one-sided view of the Iranian contribution to the history of this period. Second, despite the year of publication, this volume is woefully dated; as the table of contents reveals, the authors of five of the twenty-one chapters are deceased. The editor has attempted to keep the material current and to resolve differences presented by old contributions and new findings, but the book has been too long in gestation and suffers accordingly. Decidedly dated and limited in scope though it is, this volume at least gives a generally sound account of the Persian achievement during one of the richest periods of Iranian history.

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ARYEH KASHER. *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights*. (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum, number 7.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1985. Pp. xviii, 424. DM 148.

Aryeh Kasher published an earlier version of this book in Hebrew with an English summary, as volume 23 of the Publications of the Institute of Research on the Diaspora (1978). The introduction to the present volume surveys political events in Egypt in which Jews participated during the more than seven hundred years from the immigrations of the sixth century B.C. to the Jewish uprising in the wake

of Trajan's campaigns against the Parthians—Kasher's chronological perimeters. The next three chapters examine the diverse positions occupied by Jews within the juridic, economic, and social stratifications imposed on Egypt by Ptolemaic and Roman rulers. Arguing for separate units of Jews even prior to the Hasmonaean revolt, Kasher stresses Jewish contributions to the Ptolemaic army and police force and is at pains to counter the view that most of the Jews of Roman Egypt were classed in the lowest stratum with native Egyptians. Particularly useful is his drawing together in chapter 3 of evidence for the structure of Jewish communities of the *metropoleis* and villages. Chapters 4 through 11 consider the legal status of Alexandrian Jews. Kasher examines the political organization of Alexandria, political implications of the term "Alexandrians" in papyri, and the rights of Alexandrian Jews as presented in Apochryphal literature, in Philo and Josephus, in Claudius's letter to the Alexandrians, in anti-Jewish literature, and in Talmudic tradition. In an appendix he argues that Philo and Josephus employed the term *politeia* in essentially similar ways. These latter chapters seek to demonstrate that, apart from a few apostates, the Jews of Alexandria had interest not in assimilating with the Greek polis of Alexandria, with its attendant political and religious obligations, but rather in preserving their separate, but legally equivalent, status as members of the Jewish *politeuma*. By so arguing, Kasher counters the classic formulation of the aims of Alexandrian Jewry given by V. A. Tcherikover in his prolegomena to *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (1957–64). Kasher reexamines many difficult and ambiguous passages in the papyri and in literary and semiliterary sources, and the importance of his study lies in his insistence that the notion of a Jewish struggle for emancipation reflects a modern preoccupation of Jewish communities, prior to the establishment of the independent state of Israel. His arguments effectively reopen to scrutiny the appropriateness of such a concept in ancient contexts.

Kasher has not, however, been well served by his translator or by his editors; his language is often unclear and typographical errors abound. The resulting lack of precision extends to matters for which the author bears responsibility. Some examples follow. He uses an inferior text for discussion of the so-called Gerousia fragment from the *Acta Alexandrinorum* (pp. 342–44), since the joining of *P. Yale II* 107 to *P. Giss* 46 makes it difficult to see that text as hostile to Jews or the Roman emperor. In his discussion of the date and nature of the so-called Boule fragment from the *Acta* he does not refer to *P. Oxyrhynchus* XXV 2435 and XLII 3020; like it, however, they contain Augustan material, were copied near the time of events they describe, and as a group imply an early documentary stratum of the

*Acta*. He also fails to mention *P. Oxyrhynchus* XLII 3021, a text that mentions Jews and is likely to belong to the *Acta Isidori*. Finally, he argues that the Roman bureaucracy at times treated Jews apart from the mass of Egyptians without reference to the *Ioudaïkos logos*, a special department created to manage properties confiscated from Jews after the suppression of the uprising under Trajan.

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JOHN M. RIDDLE. *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and Medicine*. Foreword by JOHN SCARBOROUGH. (History of Science Series, number 3). Austin: University of Texas Press. 1985. Pp. xxviii, 298.

Although Dioscorides (circa A.D. 40–80) was regarded as the foremost authority on drugs by Galen and by Western European and Islamic medical writers, and several modern editions and translations have appeared in the twentieth century, John M. Riddle's work is the first monograph on the man and his works in over one hundred years. The long wait has been well worth it. Riddle's study is a model of scholarship. In fact, few people have the qualifications or expertise that Riddle has. He is an excellent linguist as well as pharmacologist, a medical historian as well as an expert in the history of the ancient and medieval period. He has tracked down the surviving manuscripts of Dioscorides throughout Europe and America and in the process has almost totally revised our understanding of him.

At the end of the nineteenth century Max Wellman called Dioscorides a mere compiler, and, although Wellman modified his judgment as he completed the editing of the work of Dioscorides, Riddle argues that, until he began his own studies, the unique contributions of Dioscorides—his classification of drugs—had been overlooked. Riddle holds that the system of Dioscorides is logical and consistent, extremely helpful to those who knew it, since it was based on the physiological effects drugs had on the body. Unfortunately, Dioscorides failed to explain his method in his work, probably, as Riddle hypothesizes, because he did not want to be involved in the bitter controversy between the various contending "schools of medicine" so rampant in the first century A.D.

To add to the confusion, the classification scheme was either missed by Galen or ignored by him to fit drugs into his own classifications of warm, wet, cold, dry, corresponding to his four humors and four elements. Thus, although Dioscorides was consulted and used by others, there were complaints about his organization, which was neither botanical nor alphabetical and did not fit into the Galenic scheme.

Botanists, in particular, complained about him. Still, his data and the illustrations (only medieval ones are extant) were so complete and useful that his work survived in spite of this criticism. Only with the development of chemistry, pharmacognosy, and phytochemistry were the tools at hand to decipher the basic organizational principles, and Riddle has spent some twenty years doing so. Riddle, however, is ever the cautious scholar, never pushing the evidence further than it will go. He continually emphasizes that drugs must be understood in ancient terms, rather than modern. He is also well aware of the difficulties in identifying plants and drugs from ancient descriptions. Working within these limitations, Riddle has given us a fascinating demonstration of effective use of several disciplines to produce new insights into what now has to be regarded as a seminal work in Western culture.

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## MEDIEVAL

JOSEPH H. LYNCH. *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1986. Pp. xiv, 378. \$49.00.

The belief that baptismal sponsorship creates intimate spiritual and family bonds between all of the parties involved has long been a feature of European societies. Concern about the relationships that arise from sponsorship remains strong, even in the late twentieth century, among Mediterranean societies and is stronger still in Latin America, where the institution of *compadrazgo* continues to flourish and to fascinate anthropologists. In Northern Europe and most North American societies, by contrast, godparenting now plays only a trivial role in creating and maintaining social networks.

Joseph H. Lynch's book addresses the basic questions about where and when European ideas about spiritual kinship arose and how they reflected the social concerns of Christian Europe. He approaches these problems from the vantage point of a social historian who specializes in early medieval history. Lynch's social historical approach, combined with the impressive breadth of his scholarship, makes this book a significant contribution to the literature of godparenthood.

That literature is quite extensive indeed, as Lynch demonstrates in the sixty-seven-page historiographical review that opens his book. Most earlier treatments of Western godparenting, however, were written by canon lawyers, who are professionally concerned with the multiple obstacles that godparenting creates to Christian marriage as a result of

sexual taboos that arise not only from the relationship between godparent and godchild but also from that between godparent and natural parent, between the godparents themselves, between the officiating clergyman and the baptized, and among the circle of blood relatives of all the parties involved.

Lynch, on the other hand, is primarily interested in the origins and social functions of the rules about godparental relationships and the ways in which they developed, rather than in the juristic intricacies of their application. He finds that baptismal sponsorship was not a significant matter in ancient Christianity, since most Christians in the early centuries were baptized only as adults and needed no sponsor to speak on their behalf. The sponsor in adult baptism was primarily a guarantor who warranted the sincerity and moral probity of the prospective convert. Between the fourth and sixth centuries, however, as infant baptism gradually became the norm, the role of the sponsor was also transformed and became increasingly prominent in Christian initiation rites. The sponsor now became a spokesperson for the godchild and assumed a vicarious responsibility for the child's Christian upbringing. Prior to the eighth century, the principal concern of church authorities was with the coparental relationship between the sponsor and the child's natural parents. Sponsorship in this period rarely created marriage problems, mainly because children usually had only one baptismal sponsor, who was normally of the same sex as the child.

From the eighth century onward, however, the emphasis shifted and ties of spiritual kinship proliferated as it became common to ask multiple godparents to sponsor a child and to have at least one of those godparents of the opposite sex from the child. From the ninth century onward Lynch finds increasing concern among ecclesiastical writers with the relationship between sponsor and godchild after baptism. The new Carolingian view of sponsorship stressed the pedagogical role of godparents in the upbringing of their spiritual child and their responsibility for the child's spiritual formation.

The main features of Christian doctrine concerning spiritual kinship had emerged, Lynch argues, by the end of the Carolingian period, and, although social practices associated with godparenthood have undergone myriad transformations since that time, its Carolingian heritage continues to mark it.

Lynch's book is a valuable contribution to the history of the formative period of an important institution in medieval and modern societies. He knows the sources intimately, uses them intelligently, and presents his findings persuasively. He has written a model scholarly monograph.

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BARBARA A. HANAWALT, *The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1986. Pp. xii, 346. \$24.95.

Readers who come to the writing of Barbara A. Hanawalt expecting to be interested will not be disappointed by this work. Her latest book contains a vivid re-creation of the family and community life of English peasants during the later Middle Ages, as well as lively criticism of other historians who have generalized about the subject. Beginning with the information found in 3118 coroners' inquests into accidental deaths within six English counties, Hanawalt adds the evidence found in contemporary wills, manorial court rolls, and tax records. She also draws telling illustrations from medieval literature. The result contains much intriguing information: for instance, that men had more than twice as many fatal accidents as women in the early morning but that both sexes were in about equal (and much greater) danger of accidental death during the night. This sort of evidence leads Hanawalt to useful conclusions about the division of work between men and women. She also draws from her sources a plausible reason for easy "social mobility" among medieval peasants: their houses often lasted only one generation. Each new household had to start afresh. Their lives therefore lacked the emotive tie to ancestral homes that would have kept them in one place.

Such findings are many and impressive in this book. Several of the most important conclusions should be noted specially. Hanawalt concludes that English peasant families were always nuclear. The extended family played little part in English family life. Children, even into their teens, were treated in most, but not all, ways just as modern children are, rather than as little adults. Marriage was a "companionate partnership," and it did not exclude real affection in its inception or its continuation. Sons did not normally await the death of their fathers before marrying, and they often succeeded in acquiring land at a relatively early age. Most English peasants were entrepreneurs, accumulating land and maximizing their earnings. Old people retained control over their lives; normally they did not live with their children, and they freely contracted with nonkin to secure adequate living standards for their dotage.

Historians familiar with the literature will rightly guess that Hanawalt is critical of the work of Philippe Ariès and Lawrence Stone. Ariès's description of the Middle Ages as lacking a concept of childhood and Stone's depiction of a break between medieval and early modern family life seem unconvincing to Hanawalt. Surprisingly, she does not spare Alan Macfarlane. Most of the conclusions she reaches seem compatible with the findings (if not the spirit) of his *Origins of English Individualism*

(1979), and, at least to me, to treat his work as if it simply asserted that the medieval English villager was "not a peasant" seems ungenerous (pp. 5, 73, 162). The question is whether medieval and modern English society display overall continuity, and on this point Hanawalt and Macfarlane seem mostly in agreement.

Indeed, the perspective Hanawalt brings to this subject stresses the importance and ubiquity of individual decisions by the men and women she describes. Unlike earlier historians of the peasantry, George Homans, H. S. Bennett, and Paul Vinogradoff, Hanawalt concludes that most formal legal rules are of little use in describing the realities of peasant life. The distinction between villein and freeman plays virtually no role in her account, and she mentions the Statute of Labourers only to dismiss it. Her general conclusion is that "peasants were not bound by custom or law but worked out disposal of their goods to their own perceived advantage" (p. 8). In this interpretation legal rules essentially became an irrelevance, at most an inconvenience to be overcome. Hanawalt's point of view about the nature of peasant society may be correct. Certainly her argument is well and forcefully made. It remains mildly ironic, however, that virtually all the sources she uses to conclude that law made no difference in people's lives would never have been compiled had it not been for the importance of law in the minds of medieval people.

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ANNE-MARIE LANDÈS-MALLET. *La famille en Rouergue au moyen âge (1269-1345): Etude de la pratique notariale*. (Publications de l'Université de Rouen, number 107.) Rouen: The University, 1985. Pp. 400, 220 fr.

In this example of traditional socio-legal history, Anne-Marie Landès-Mallet attempts to reconstruct the organization of the family in later medieval Rouergue. Her sources are the mass of pertinent documents, chiefly marriage contracts and testaments, preserved in notarial registers from the region. The destruction of some registers renders the documentary base incomplete, but Landès-Mallet has examined all of the several thousand acts that remain.

Her work is methodical. Point by point she traces the practices recorded for each of the possible situations that the documents regulate. Thus, part 1, "La famille du vivant des conjoints," treats in sequence the arrangements found for the betrothal, the establishment, payment, administration, and ultimate disposition of the dowry, the power of the father over his children, legal majority, the composition of the family community that included mar-

ried children, and variants of such communities organized by collateral kinsmen. Part 2, "La famille après la mort de l'un des conjoints," traces in similar detail the possible eventualities concerning widows, offspring, collaterals, and the property.

Throughout, Landès-Mallet stays close to the documents. This is a mixed virtue. On the one hand, it inspires confidence in her data, and this merit is enhanced by her copious footnotes. Specialists who continue the path that she has begun will greatly benefit from her labor. Readers with more general purposes, however, may find the book difficult, for the text is so focused on the documents for each of the legal arrangements she catalogues that the whole very nearly resembles a sort of topical inventory. It offers little synthesis beyond recognition of such pervasive traits as the pivotal role of the male head of the family or the concern to preserve the unity of the household community from one generation to the next. Moreover, issues not directly addressed in the documents are omitted—for example, the question of how many sons per generation were allowed to marry and whether such customs may have varied between townspeople and the rural population. Another topic inadequately explored is the social position of the widowed matriarch, who, as some of the documents cited suggest, might have been of greater importance than is generally appreciated.

The index of persons is extremely helpful but must be used with some care. My spot checking revealed that, among entries listed as designating a single individual, several in fact referred to two persons (thus, Pierre de Ramis, Brunescens and Hélène de Ramis, and Géraud Guirard).

In sum, Landès-Mallet covers her chosen ground in detail. She also makes available valuable material for the comparative study and synthesis of southern French society that one hopes will eventually follow.

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PETER SAWYER, editor. *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*. Baltimore, Md.: Edward Arnold, 1985. Pp. x, 182. \$44.50.

This collection of essays, edited by Peter Sawyer in anticipation of the ninth centenary of the making of the Domesday Book, is a fine introduction to the study of William the Conqueror's great survey. Most of its articles admirably fulfill the editor's dual aim to review the present state of Domesday studies and to discuss "potentially rewarding topics for future work" (p. x). Alexander Rumble provides a lucid discussion of the paleography and codicology of the Domesday manuscripts. G. H. Martin's essay on the Domesday boroughs and H. B. Clarke's on the



so-called Domesday satellites are not only balanced accounts of these important topics but also remind us of how the purpose and format of Domesday Book have shaped our knowledge of eleventh-century social and economic institutions. John Blair explores the crucial role played by colleges of secular priests in the religious life and parochial organization of late Saxon and Norman England, and Sally Harvey, elaborating on her earlier suggestion that the "ploughland" represents a fiscal revision undertaken contemporaneously with the survey, underscores the hazards presented by Domesday Book's nomenclature. J. J. R. Palmer offers an enthusiastic appraisal of the application of computers to Domesday studies. Palmer declares that "in future, only masochists will approach Domesday's statistics without the aid of a computer" (p. 167).

Two of the papers are less successful. John Percival's discussion of the Roman imperial *census* and Carolingian polyptychs is a good introduction to those topics but fails to demonstrate their relevance to the *Domesday Book*. More problematic is the contribution of the editor himself. Sawyer's essay, by far the most ambitious in the collection, attempts to justify the book's title by reassessing what Domesday Book has to tell us about the tenurial changes wrought by the Norman Conquest. Domesday Book, according to Sawyer, consistently fails to record the names of lords who enjoyed superior interests over their men's lands. Since most of those omitted, he contends, were the *antecessores* of the holders of 1086, Domesday Book conceals the extent of continuity between Norman feudal honors and Anglo-Saxon lordships. Sawyer adduces too little evidence to support his argument. He does not, for instance, systematically compare the pre- and post-Conquest patterns of lordship in Domesday circuits III and VII, the only county surveys that regularly include this information. Basing his discussion of Anglo-Saxon lordship entirely on Domesday Book, Sawyer seems to assume that the Norman conquerors merely followed Old English custom when they gobbled up the lands belonging to the men of their *antecessores*. The relationship, however, between lordship and land tenure in late Anglo-Saxon England was far more complicated than the Norman settlement would suggest. Further, because of his emphasis on legal succession, Sawyer tends to ignore the crucial role played by extralegal encroachment in the transfer of land between 1066 and 1086.

Although this book does not provide the reassessment of Domesday Book promised by its title, it is nonetheless an excellent introduction to recent scholarship in the field and should prove valuable for students and specialists alike.

RICHARD P. ABELS  
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GRAHAM PLATTS. *Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire*. (History of Lincolnshire, number 4.) Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, for the Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology. 1985. Pp. 340.

The History of Lincolnshire series has been an ambitious and well-executed project by a county that has shown more than usual concern with publishing documents and histories. The volumes, designed for both the professional historian and the general reading public, have included such fine ones as Dorothy M. Owen's *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (1981). Writing for two audiences is not easy, and Graham Platts has not achieved a perfect balance.

For the specialist the chapters on medieval peasantry and agriculture are certainly the most original and the most interesting. Platts's comparison of the differences in personal freedom, inheritance practices, and agricultural techniques between the fenland districts of Lincolnshire and the higher and more northern regions of the county is based on careful work with manorial accounts and court rolls. The upland manors exerted more control over their peasantry and were, on the whole, larger, more profitable, and more carefully run than those in the lowland areas. Thus, the richer fenland peasants attained more freedom from their overlords. The differences between the upland and fenland culture in the counties bordering the Wash is interesting and could have been carried beyond the considerations of peasant freedoms and economic profits of manors. The fenlanders relied on the bounty of the fens to supplement their diets with fish and wild birds and their economy with transporting reeds to towns. Because of these supplements, the fenland households tended to be larger and more inclined to keep partible inheritance. The fenlands also had something more of a frontier mentality, so that murders and felonies in general tended to occur more frequently there than in the uplands. The chapter on law and disorder would have been greatly enhanced with a continued investigation of the differences between the two regions.

The book was to be a general social history of the medieval county of Lincolnshire. Since the society was not composed entirely of peasantry, Platts includes a chapter on the nobility and one on the townspeople. Neither of these chapters offers original material, but they were necessary to round out the profile of society. Most strikingly, Platts's picture of society gives little sense of the people of Lincolnshire, particularly of the women. Most of the peasants appear in the aggregate, and the nobility as they appear in a peerage. The felons have more color than the others in Lincolnshire because their exploits are recorded. The reader is given many



other aids, however, that are most valuable in rounding out the view of medieval Lincolnshire, including very fine maps and illustrations.

BARBARA A. HANAWALT  
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ROBERTO S. LOPEZ. *Intervista sulla città medievale*. Edited by MARINO BERENGO. (Saggi Tascabili Laterza, number 100.) Bari: Laterza. 1984. Pp. 197. L. 14,000.

The interpretations of medieval urban history that the late Roberto S. Lopez and Marino Berengo offer in this volume take the form of the publisher's well-known (in Italy, at least) interview series, in which one scholar or writer poses to another a set of general questions in the broad field of the latter's research or expertise. Here the early modernist Berengo "interviews" the medievalist Lopez on the far-reaching theme of the medieval city, a topic that no one has illuminated with more fundamental research or wealth of comparative insight than has Lopez. Their rich and mobile dialogue touches on a wide variety of big issues, beginning with Lopez's definition of "the city as a state of mind" and moving quickly to such problems as the origins of medieval cities, their political development, economic structures, social conflicts, the relations between cities and the political or territorial units of which they were variously dominant centers, administrative capitals, or subordinate parts, and the distinctive cultural forms that they nurtured. As they acknowledge, the authors devote particular attention to the communes and city republics of north and central Italy but always with a comparative eye to the rest of Europe and even beyond to the cities of Islam and China.

The agenda is ambitious for a relatively slender volume, and the result is a densely packed exchange of interpretations, analyses, and examples, almost always stimulating but often inconclusive. Certain themes recur: the notion of persistence and adaptation in urban history, the crucial factor of the political autonomy of the Italian cities, the competitive and even conflictual nature of city life and the positive effects of such strife, and the generally progressive quality of the urban-mercantile social order. But the discussion moves rapidly from one theme to another and across geographical and time distances and refers to events, institutions, and social structures—and occasionally to the work of other historians—in a manner that presupposes a good deal of knowledge from the reader. The book lacks notes, bibliography, and background explanations of the historical situations and historiographical traditions on which the authors comment. The problematic aspect of this book thus lies not so much in

what Lopez and Berengo say as in the way in which the "interview" format has forced them to say it. Despite the apparently informal presentation, this is not a book for beginners.

Lopez's evaluation of the medieval urban experience, especially that of the Italian communes in the period before the crisis of the mid-fourteenth century, is, on balance, favorable. This will not surprise readers familiar with his earlier work. But its restatement should serve to counterbalance the recent tendency of some historians to cast the popular commune and its political institutions in a negative light compared with the allegedly more stable princely regimes or even to submerge the commune in interpretations stressing the permanence of quasi-feudal aristocratic elites. Lopez underscores the progressive and even revolutionary quality of communal society—its mobility, its relative openness to challenges from below, its technological, institutional, and educational advances, its cultural vitality—and rejects the revisionism of historians who would minimize these achievements of the medieval Italian merchant bourgeoisie. Although he recognizes the weaknesses of the communes (for example, their susceptibility to factionalism and their failure to extend the liberties they had won for themselves to subject territories), Lopez warns against the one-sided judgments that result from the fact that much modern historiography has "unconsciously inherited the prejudices of a society that forgave aristocrats everything and the common people nothing" (p. 57). This book is filled with such thought-provoking asides, which reinforce the sense of just how much Lopez will be missed.

JOHN M. NAJEMY  
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ANTONIO IVAN PINI. *Città, comuni e corporazioni nel medioevo italiano*. Bologna: Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria. 1986. Pp. 314. L. 25,000.

Antonio Ivan Pini has provided a very useful synthesis and extensive bibliography of recent scholarship treating the history of the cities of north and central Italy from the eleventh through the sixteenth century. More weight is given to the period from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth century, but Pini's observations pertaining to politics and society on either side of these boundaries are worthy of any reader's careful scrutiny. Pini has done much archival research (especially on medieval Bologna), and he joins the results of his investigations to the domain of more generalized historical concerns. He has surveyed a sprawling, often fugitive, battery of articles on political and economic questions chiefly appearing in local Italian journals. He presents their conclusions fairly and accurately.

His forays into the literature of cultural and intellectual history are not so successful, but here he is both the beneficiary and victim of today's researches into late medieval Italian history. Compartmentalization is very much the order of the day. To some extent it may be explained by the strong commitment to legal history among the past generation of Italian medievalists and the contemporary passion for politics and economic history. But Pini cites, and uses with great profit, the recent research of G. Chittolini; he omits, however, the equally valuable cultural analysis of G. Miccoli. More attention to cultural and intellectual matters would have clarified any number of political and legal issues, although Pini's accomplishments stand.

Based on his extensive reading, the author offers a general discussion of such themes as the structure of the medieval city, political developments leading from the commune to the territorial state, administrative change from the late thirteenth to the sixteenth century and, finally, two specialized essays on medieval corporations in Bologna and the guilds and professions in medieval Padua. This book falters, however, in its general interpretive thrust. Pini has considerable political nostalgia for the "happy" age of the Podestà (circa 1183–1250)—a time between "feudal insecurity" and "precapitalist exploitation." Deploping the decline of communal government over the next century, he is also resolutely against despotism and unwaveringly loyal to the thesis of urban oppression of peasants and spoliation of the countryside. That so few peasant revolts occurred in north and central Italy, as compared with other regions of Europe, does give him pause, but not for serious reflection. He fits Italian urban experience into a familiar political framework, so that one feels secure and comfortable with his ideological conclusions. This book holds few surprises, but, on the other hand, it is a reliable summary of recent research, although it lacks the energy to reach for a new synthesis or repudiate a tired one.

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ANNE LOMBARD-JOURDAN. *Aux origines de Paris: La genèse de la Rive droite jusqu'en 1223*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1985. Pp. 224. 150 fr.

We welcome this revised and augmented version of Anne Lombard-Jourdan's earlier work on the development of the Right Bank of Paris—*Paris: Genèse de la "Ville" La rive droite de la Seine des origines à 1223*, published in 1976. The new edition is furnished with additional insights, material, illustrations, and maps and is graced with a most appreciative foreword by Jean Glénisson. In the author's exhaustive

researches she has not only consulted official documents but also made use of works of hagiography, the latest archaeological discoveries, topography, and the tradition and rites of later centuries. Above all, she has a discriminating sense of the historically probable that adds weight to her conclusions.

Lombard-Jourdan claims for the Right Bank its rightful importance in the early centuries in which it has been eclipsed in the literature by the other two parts of Paris: the Cité and the Left Bank. After Caesar's conquest the Romans laid out on the Left Bank a new city in accord with their ideals, complete with forum, baths, theater, and amphitheater. The town extended from the Montagne Sainte-Geneviève to the marshes adjacent to the Seine but failed to reach the river, the traffic artery of the region. A couple of centuries later the area was chiefly rural and only recovered its importance with the efflorescence of the University of Paris. The Cité is mentioned by the Emperor Julian and by Abbo, monk of St. Germain-des-Près, in his epic on the Norman siege of 885–87. The isle was small and not above flood level, but it was the site of the king's palace and of the cathedral—the center of royal and episcopal administration.

In contrast, the Right Bank has had a poor press, which in an aristocratic age is probably to be expected in the case of an industrial, mercantile, and riverine area, heavily involved in the transport of goods and the provisioning of Paris. Nevertheless, throughout the early period the population center continued to be the Right Bank. There, in the first century B.C., the Gauls had their sanctuaries, shrines, and cemeteries, which they also used as neutral ground for carrying on trade. The Right Bank had certain topographical advantages—the only natural port in Paris and two areas securely elevated above any inundations and protected against attack by impenetrable swamps. The earliest church after the *ecclesia* of Paris was founded on the Right Bank; the area around the Port of Grève was sufficiently important to be protected by a wall before 884; the markets on the North Bank continued to grow in size; and the king turned over the administration of Paris to the bourgeoisie who carried on most of their activities on the Right Bank.

Lombard-Jourdan's new volume is an impressive piece of scholarship and a mine of information for future researchers on the early history of Paris.

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JEAN-MARIE PESEZ, editor. *Brucato: Histoire et archéologie d'un habitat médiéval en Sicile*. In two volumes. (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, number

78.) Rome: The School. 1984. Pp. viii, 471; 474–827.

The late Carmelo Trasselli conceived the plan for the excavation of the medieval ruins of Mura Pregne, which had long interested classical archaeologists. But, following Trasselli's death, the initiative passed to a joint Franco-Italian team under the leadership of Jean-Marie Pesez. The choice of Brucato, as it is known in the medieval documents, resulted from a deliberate consideration of a number of sites in various parts of the island. After an initial reconnaissance in February and March 1971, work began in May 1972. The selection was based in part on previous archaeological work carried out at the site but mostly on its seeming potential for the study of a medieval Sicilian village. The decision was important, for this was a first in Sicilian archaeology. Unfortunately, this early promise was disappointed. Two members of the group were drowned. But the most serious problem arose from local opposition, thefts from the site, threats, and even direct action. Excavations were suspended on June 21, 1975. Given the loss of part of the documentation and the incompleteness of the work, it would not have been surprising if no publication had resulted, or only one of no great significance. Pesez and his colleagues, including the historian Henri Bresc, therefore deserve considerable credit for producing an important study of a medieval Sicilian rural community, which, despite its shortcomings, will serve as a worthy foundation for future research.

Partial destruction of the site of Brucato through quarrying, which began in 1953, limited the possibility for an examination of all parts of the site. Although medieval documents chart its existence from the tenth century and it seems to have flourished under the Normans for a time, the excavations provided no evidence of Muslim occupation and only inconclusive evidence for the Norman period. The buildings excavated were almost exclusively from the late thirteenth century or a bit later. Moreover, no documentary evidence exists from the Hohenstaufen period, and the few coins found on the site from this period cannot be connected with any contemporary occupation. Ceramic evidence for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is abundant but inconclusive. Likewise, the metalwork cannot be used to support studies of this period. Although the authors suggest that the site was abandoned after Frederick II removed the Muslim population to Lucera in 1224, the destruction of part of the site makes this suggestion problematic. More important, both the written evidence and the excavations point to the renewed importance of Brucato in the period following the Sicilian Vespers. Under Peter of Aragon, but especially under Frederick III, it became an important link in the military defense of

this part of the island from Angevin attack. Indeed, in 1338 it fell into the hands of the Angevins and, according to the authors, was destroyed. Thus, in attributing the destruction of Brucato to a military cause rather than the demographic decline and economic dislocation associated with the plagues of the second half of the fourteenth century, they signal another point of difference between Brucato and other deserted villages. Without denying the merit of this argument and the support it finds in the archaeological evidence, I must, however, point out that future efforts to develop the economy of the region, especially in the fifteenth century, seem not to have led to a revival of the village.

The major value of this study will lie in its presentation of the evidence for the way of life in a medieval Sicilian village. In practical terms, the most valuable testimony relates to the period from the Sicilian Vespers to the mid-fourteenth century. This community had little contact with the world beyond Sicily. It drew its sustenance from the region, perhaps in part from its military garrison. It was in every sense a "marginal community" with strong ties to the nearby sea and to the mountain forests. Its inhabitants ate the fruit of the hunt and sold furs. They were farmers. But their way of life was changing. As their village fell into ruins, whether as a result of war or through abandonment, new and more powerful external economic forces were settling the future of Brucato.

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ODETTE CHAPELOT and PAUL BENOIT, editors. *Pierre et métal dans le bâtiment au Moyen Âge*. (Recherches d'histoire et de sciences sociales, number 11.) Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. 1985. Pp. 370. 220 fr.

A veritable explosion in the study of medieval archaeology has followed Europe's recovery from World War II. The English and the Germans have led the way, but the French are beginning to catch up. Not only are medieval digs flourishing all over France today but various groups have been formed, in part through the efforts of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, to bring archaeologists together, support excavations, sponsor conferences, and underwrite publications. For many years the Centre des Etudes Archéologiques, under the able leadership of Michel de Bouard, had been the dominant force. Recently, however, other groups have begun to emerge in specialized areas of research. One such team is devoted to the study of "Mines, carrières et métallurgie dans la France médiévale" and is associated with the Ecole des

Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales at the University of Paris I.

The volume under review here, edited by Odette Chapelot and Paul Benoit, is composed of twenty-one papers that were presented at a colloquium that was held in Paris in 1982. The volume is divided into three sections: "L'apport des textes à la connaissance des chantiers," "La pierre dans le bâtiment," and "Les métaux dans le bâtiment." The last section is divided into two parts consisting of three articles on the use of lead and four on the use of iron. A final article addresses the use of metal in general in construction during the Middle Ages in France. The volume is rounded out by an avant-propos that briefly tours the horizon and identifies the immense task confronting archaeologists.

The six articles in section 1 primarily deal with the role that written texts can play in the project at hand. The articles cover such topics as the supply of construction sites, the costs of construction, and the location of quarries. The chronological focus is the later Middle Ages (the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries); geographically, France and the Low Countries dominate. The results are mixed. For example, S. Lauzanne finds little of value on quarries in cartularies from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. This negative result is particularly important because archaeologists in France have not effectively begun to identify medieval quarries and particularly the origins of the stone that was used in military architecture. Some progress has been made in locating the sources of stone for celebrated churches. By contrast, the edition of the building accounts of the Célestins of Sens from 1477 to 1482, along with the commentary by D. Caillwaux, is informative and could prove useful not only for general economic history but also for comparison with contemporary English accounts, which, in general, are more forthcoming. Of special worth is Philippe Braunstein's "Les débuts d'un chantier: Le Dôme de Milan sort de terre, 1387," which is a magisterial study based on incomparable collection of documents. We are likely to hear much more from this *fond* in the future.

The articles in sections 2 and 3 are, on the whole, more narrow in conception, less useful, and weaker than those in section 1. However, the vast amount of work required to glean a few useful facts from a large corpus of artifacts should always be kept in mind by scholars who focus primarily on written sources. The laborious examination of tool marks on stone will eventually help understand the pace and cost of work, and, when fully studied, the *signa* with which masons marked the stones they cut are likely to help us understand more of the social history of this group. The articles on these two topics by J. C. Bessac and E. Nicolas, respectively,

like D. Prignet's ethnographic examination of modern quarrymen from Anjou, are likely to be useful as more of this type of work is done. More historical in nature is Lucien Musset's fine study of the stone quarrying industry of Caen from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. We would hardly expect less from the doyen of specialists in the history of medieval Normandy. J. M. Pesez's meanderings concerning the so-called renaissance in the construction in stone after the year 1000 are disappointing, and Pesez misconstrues Raoul Glaber's oft-quoted observation and subjects it to a methodologically unsound critique.

In part 3 the focus wanders far afield into Poland, the Romanian lands, the Low Countries, and Burgundy. Particularly worthy of note is J. M. Yante's work on metal work in the Mosan region; the map of metallurgical establishments in the first half of the sixteenth century is impressive. O. Chapelot's examination of metal workers in Burgundy at the end of the Middle Ages, based on a detailed study of the Châtillonnais, is also interesting, but her sources seem a bit thin to be used for her quantitative purpose.

The team at Paris I is to be congratulated and encouraged to continue its valuable work. More colloquia are needed, and more publications of their proceedings are a desideratum. Wider international cooperation should be sought as should a greater focus on integrating the use of written texts, artifacts, and the laboratory. Collectively, the greatest weakness of the studies published here is their individual authorship, each by a specialist in a single field. Teamwork, not merely in overall organization but on particular projects, must be the order of the day.

BERNARD S. BACHRACH  
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*Piemonte medievale: Forme del potere e della società; Studi per Giovanni Tabacco.* (Saggi, number 680.) Turin: Giulio Einaudi. 1985. Pp. xv, 289. L. 30,000.

The eleven essays in this volume were composed by former students of Giovanni Tabacco, the recently retired head of the Institute of Medieval Studies at the University of Turin. Tabacco and Franco Venturi, also recently retired, have animated a "Turinese school" among Italian historians. As defined by the authors of this volume, the school is "nonideological" (itself more of a confession of faith than the authors wish to acknowledge), investigating what Tabacco himself has called "pluralistic spontaneity." This seems to mean that he and his students are indisposed to accept any single mode of interpretation. They see individuals, social groups, and institutions in constant movement with a number of



possible outcomes. That Tabacco and his students have found Piedmont an ideal setting for their studies is not fortuitous. Piedmont could be seen as peripheral to both feudal, or perhaps courtly, Northern Europe and to the communal, Mediterranean world to the south. These authors reject the notion of periphery and prefer instead to think of Piedmont as a crossroads integrating aspects of both cultures. This vision is most aptly demonstrated in Gian Giacomo Fissore's "Plurality of Forms and Uniformity of Authentication in the Chanceries of the Medieval Subalpine Region" and in Alessandro Barbaro's "Courts and Historiography of the Court." Fissore demonstrates how Bolognese-style notarial documents were grafted onto traditional chancery styles. The resulting hybridized administration, he suggests, typifies the creativity of the subalpine world. Barbaro, on the other hand, explains how in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Franco-Burgundian princely historiography was combined with the humanistic and civic approaches typical of republican Italy. Thus, Barbaro questions Ruggiero Romano's assumption that the courtly, humanistic historiography of the later Renaissance was the product of a political crisis of the sixteenth century. The authors also question any simple schematic or undifferentiated understanding of broad international movements. Grado G. Merlo's investigation of the mendicants ("Minorites and Preachers in Piedmont of the 1200s") makes the important point that the mendicants in Piedmont accommodated themselves to a particular institutional and political setting and thus differentiated their role in Piedmont from that played in Lombardy or in central Italy. Initially, at least, the friars were welcomed as mediators of a series of local disputes. In Asti they joined with a number of local religious institutions that had separated themselves from a close identification with the episcopal see and that were strongly supported by the communal movement. In Piedmont the mendicants themselves represented only a part of what is coming to be called "Civic Christianity." In the first section of the book ("Institutions of Town and Countryside") Giuseppe Sergi and Renato Bordone similarly give a specific local context to a European-wide phenomenon. Sergi investigates the place of towns in the marches of Ivrea and Turin in the tenth century. Like Tabacco himself, Sergi argues that towns had remained a focus of public administration between the ninth and eleventh centuries. But he suggests that no single pattern adequately explains either the behavior of local elites or the relationships of the bishops and the elites to the nascent communes. Picking up the theme, Bordone argues that, just as in the rest of central-northern Italy, the towns of Piedmont were the natural focus of economic and political life. He continues that Hagan Keller's influ-

ential model dividing Milan's eleventh-century elite into two feudal classes closely tied to the archbishop does not fit Piedmont. In northern Piedmont feudal groups had been traditional opponents of the bishops and easily joined the communal movement. To the south, Asti and Turin, the situation was just the reverse.

These brief remarks only suggest the diversity of topics included in the volume. The first section, as noted, concentrates on town and communal movements, the second on the territorial princes of the later Middle Ages, the third on diplomacy and administration, the fourth on ideology and social identity. Almost all the essays illuminate both local phenomena and broad historical problems and successfully avoid the "campanillismo" that too often characterizes collections of regional studies. My only complaints concern the lack of a bibliography of Tabacco's work and, more seriously, the absence of maps of Piedmont and northern Italy. This omission is unfortunate in a book designed to show the importance of particular experiences and spacial divisions and relationships. Yet both authors and publisher can be proud of the volume. In quality and style it is fitting homage to the writing and teaching of Giovanni Tabacco.

DUANE J. OSHEIM  
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JAMES WILLIAM BRODMAN. *Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain: The Order of Merced on the Christian-Islamic Frontier.* (The Middle Ages.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986. Pp. xi, 196. \$21.95.

One of the most lamentable consequences of the war between Christians and Muslims along the frontier of medieval Spain was the capture of many innocent people who were thenceforward consigned to a life of slavery. Taken as booty and sold as chattels, they could expect never to see home or family again, unless, by some near miracle, they were ransomed. Frontier towns often tried to ransom their fellow citizens by hiring merchants for this purpose.

In the second quarter of the thirteenth century Pere Nolasc established the order of Merced, or Mercy, to ransom unfortunates who fell into Muslim hands. Clarifying the origins and early history of the order, James William Brodman shows that, contrary to traditional opinion, King James I of Aragon and St. Ramon de Penyafort, had nothing to do with its foundation.

The order initially consisted of a small group of laymen who acquired properties in Perpignan, in the kingdom of Valencia and, to a lesser extent, in Catalonia and Castile. In the later thirteenth cen-



tury, however, clerics succeeded in eliminating laymen from positions of authority; thereafter the order was essentially clerical in composition. The increasing self-consciousness of the clergy no doubt had much to do with the clericalization of the order.

Although the order was directed by a master and the heads of individual houses were called commanders, Brodman denies that it was either a military or a mendicant order. Rather, Merced exemplified the organization of the caritative movement in the thirteenth century. The order's constitutions enacted in 1272 (a translation of which appears in the appendix) illustrate the lay character of the order and reflect an effort at reform after some apparent abuses.

Because Merced's main business was to liberate captives, it strove to acquire properties whose income could be used for ransoms. Given the hostility of the secular and mendicant clergy toward preachers of the order, it used the pulpits of its own churches for preaching and raising alms. Merced attempted to rescue people who were not likely to have the wherewithal to do it themselves. Sometimes full or partial ransom was given to families to enable them to redeem their own members. From time to time, the order sent ransomers to the ports of North Africa and other slave markets to attempt the direct ransom of captives. Brodman refutes the suggestion that the medieval brothers of Merced personally took the place of prisoners. Although this sounds very romantic, it would seem highly impractical, and the brothers apparently had their feet firmly planted on the ground. Those ransomed had no obligation to Merced other than to travel with their ransomers for a six-month period as visual testimony to the efficacy of the order's work and as an inducement to almsgiving.

Working with a limited number of sources drawn from the order's archives in Barcelona, Madrid, and Valencia, Brodman has written an excellent study of a little-known organization, whose work, however, was of utmost importance to the prisoners and families who benefited from it. Amnesty International reminds us that the redemption of captives, seemingly so typical of the Middle Ages, is also characteristic of the present age.

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JENNY WORMALD. *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603*. Edinburgh: John Donald; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1985. Pp. ix, 475. \$70.00.

Jenny Wormald's important book deserves a wide readership. Its subtitle makes it sound like dry-as-dust legal history, but it is really about late medieval

lordship. The bond of manrent was a peculiarly Scottish device, designed to solve a problem that existed in every state in Western and Central Europe in the later Middle Ages—that of how to provide a mutually satisfactory relationship between greater and lesser landholders when the classical “feudal” bargain of land in return for specific obligations had outlived its usefulness because of the divided loyalties it created. A bond of manrent, meaning lasting obligation of service, was a written pledge given by a lesser landholder to a greater. It was a form of artificial kinship, designed to expand and consolidate the grantee's grip on his local sphere of influence and, by discouraging challenges to his power, help keep the peace. The grantors were men of some importance: no great man would think it worthwhile to accept a bond from a nobody. The bonds varied greatly in specific content but usually involved the grantor's promise to warn the grantee of trouble, give him counsel, “ride and gang” with him along with his own followers when necessary, and take his part in all just quarrels, except against the king. In return the grantor received maintenance: political support and protection. He did not become the lord's “man” or wear his livery. He did no homage, although he took an oath to observe his commitments. Material considerations were rarely involved. Normally, the bond was granted for life; by the sixteenth century most had become hereditary. Not all the grantors were individuals; burghs sometimes gave such bonds to the local magnate.

In her appendixes the author lists the hundreds of bonds of manrent she has been able to find, with a brief synopsis of each, along with “lost” bonds that are known from contemporary references. Personal bonds—mutual pledges of support—date from the troubles of the wars of independence in the early fourteenth century, but the term “manrent” was first used in 1442. For the next century and a half many such bonds were formed; in the greatly changed governmental circumstances of the years after 1600 they ceased rather abruptly. The three great collectors of these bonds were the earls of Huntly and Argyll and Argyll's kinsmen, the Campbell lairds of Glenorchy. This is not surprising. The estates of all three straddled the highland line. Protection of the lowlands from the depredations of the lawless elements in the highlands was incumbent on them if they wished to retain the favor of the crown, and so they needed to establish themselves firmly in their own spheres of influence.

In Wormald's view these bonds worked well for the most part. They helped create peace and stability, and they are further evidence that the traditional picture of the Scottish aristocracy as a lawless gang of bloodthirsty feudists needs revision. The author's spectacles are occasionally rose tinted: for

example, she views the ruffianly sixth earl of Huntly much too benignly. But this is a small matter. She has written a splendid and extremely valuable book, worthy to stand beside the work of K. B. MacFarlane on the shelves of all those interested in the role of the late medieval aristocracy.

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ELISABETH VODOLA. *Excommunication in the Middle Ages*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1986. Pp. xiii, 281. \$35.00.

This book is as enjoyable as it is learned. It owes its genesis to the inspiration of Stephan Kuttner and Walter Ullmann, who signaled the richness of the canonist sources scattered throughout the great manuscript collections of Europe. There lay virtually unexplored a unique record of contemporary views on the great moral questions of the day: the right ordering of society, the position of the individual within that society, and the ties of the community. Canonist manuscripts reflect the views of intellectuals, but that does not diminish their value as sources of the first rank for understanding medieval life. Through the eyes of these commentators, medieval views on the theory and effects of excommunication may be seen. Elisabeth Vodola, by diligently working through these canonist sources, and after mature reflection over a decade, has produced an impressive book that could not have been envisaged fifty years ago. Tracing the origins of excommunication back to "the ritual pruning of unfit members to ensure the survival of the group" (p. vii), she crosses the disciplines, as the study demands, of theology, law, social anthropology, and sociology. The most primitive sanction of the curse was rooted in all the cultures that contributed to the Bible, and the rabbinical power to bind and to loose was the direct source of Christian excommunication—the denial of liturgical and social incorporation to the excommunicant. The exclusion from the community was symbolized by exclusion from the communal meal, the Eucharist.

From the 1150s excommunication increasingly came to be seen as a legal sanction. It was frequently used to punish contumacy—the failure to appear before a legal tribunal after due summons. So developed two different sanctions: minor excommunication (exclusion from the sacraments—a matter of conscience) and major excommunication (loss of civil rights—a legal matter and the concern of the courts).

How did excommunication affect a person's family and friends? Chapter 3 considers the position of excommunicates within the community. One of the most interesting chapters in the book, it explores the

various views on how far those in touch with excommunicates—friends, family, and feudal overlords—might be affected. Who will easily forget the account of Gilbert Foliot, while under sentence of excommunication, smashing the crockery after a meal to avoid the spread of contamination? Vodola dextrously relates academic debates to actuality. She notes that the mendicants' less strict rules on denying excommunicates to hear mass accounted for their popularity and that the papacy did not wish to jeopardize marriage by disallowing sexual intercourse with excommunicates or to upset feudal relationships by the complete removal of feudal bonds. Innocent III invited the vassals of Count Raymond of Toulouse to occupy Raymond's lands, "saving the right of the principal lord of the fee" (p. 68).

The loss or reduction of legal rights could be severe—at its worst, political dynamite, dissolving bonds, ties, and authority. Clearly, in theory, excommunicates could not act as judges, advocates, or witnesses, and their position as plaintiffs and defendants was circumscribed (chaps. 4, 5). Had Alicia Clement, an apostate nun of Ankerwyke, admitted excommunication, she would have been prevented from making good her claim to her inheritance.

A final chapter on excommunication in secular courts concentrates on France and England. This is not the most important section, but it analyzes local differences of attitude to enforcement. In France laymen were reluctant to penalize excommunicates; in England this was not the case.

Delicate and penetrating interpretation of the sources is the hallmark of this perceptive book, which ends with six appendixes, four of them glosses on legal rights, contracts, and the avoidance of excommunicates.

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## MODERN EUROPE

MICHAEL J. HEATH. *Crusading Commonplaces: La Noue, Lucinge, and Rhetoric against the Turks*. Geneva: Droz. 1986. Pp. 113.

President Ronald Reagan was not the first Westerner to refer to his Levantine adversary as a "mad dog." In 1586 René de Lucinge, Savoyard ambassador at the French court, described the sultan as a "chien enragé," a "tyran" whose followers were "barbares." In taking this line, Lucinge followed one of the time-honored European stereotypes concerning the Turks, those dreaded and despised conquerors of Eastern Christendom. In this slender monograph Michael J. Heath reviews the language used

by Europeans to interpret the "Turkish menace" from the fall of Constantinople into the seventeenth century. His purposes are two-fold: to place in historical context the views of Lucinge and his contemporary, the Huguenot captain François de La Noue, and to identify the rhetorical conventions these and other writers adopted.

Heath's topic has received little attention since 1967, when Robert Schwoebel's fine study, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk*, placed the reactions of Europeans to the Ottomans and their conquests into the broader context of Christian responses (generally frightened) to the challenge of Islam. Schwoebel's work covered the years 1453 to 1517, so a compendium of later views is useful. Unhappily, Heath's work is little more than a compendium. The three chapters take up what the author identifies as the key arguments used by sixteenth-century writers, mainly French, for doing battle against the Turks: justice, ease, profit. This topical arrangement results in a somewhat artificial analysis, since most of the adversarial works discussed develop more than one of these arguments. The least conventional, ease, reflects the interesting, although by no means unknown, fact that by the 1580s the sultan and his legions did not represent quite the peril that they had posed earlier. After Lepanto Europeans could return to the idea of an anti-Turkish crusade as potentially more than a rhetorical commonplace. Heath identifies a few doves (mainly travel writers) among the hawks, but his story is basically one of a strident campaign of disinformation, paranoia, and sabre rattling.

Although the author has culled some useful texts and juxtaposed two writers of modest significance, this book exists in a curious intellectual vacuum. Heath seems unaware of the rich secondary literature—both theoretical and substantive—bearing on his topic. The extensive literature on Renaissance pacifism is not even mentioned, despite the obvious relevance of William J. Bouwsma's work on Postel (*Concordia Mundi* [1957]) and the important work of James Hutton and others. The work is innocent of any analytical techniques used by historians, anthropologists, or linguists for understanding literary commonplaces. We learn that La Noue, the warrior, believed in an armed attack on the Turkish empire, whereas Lucinge, the diplomat, thought it better to hold off an attack pending the empire's inevitable decline. Each of these militarists had allies and adversaries, as C. D. Rouillard showed in 1938 (*The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature, 1520–1660*). Oddly, this book appears uninformed by virtually anything that has happened in historical or literary studies since that time.

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MENNA PRESTWICH, editor. *International Calvinism, 1541–1715*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1985. Pp. x, 403. \$49.95.

All students of Calvinism will welcome this volume, which contains an introduction and thirteen essays—eight by British scholars, three by French scholars, and one each by a Swiss and an Israeli. The absence of North Americans is curious. Menna Prestwich, the editor, notes that contributors were not given "detailed directives" nor required to cover "the whole span of time and all aspects of the general subject" (p. v). Despite the free hand, the eight British essays have distinct similarities, as do the four by the Continental scholars. The Israeli fits between the two groups.

All of the British essays cover Calvinism in a given country through an extended period. Although not explicitly historiographical, all eight summarize recent research on their subjects and include rich footnotes and reading lists. As a result, the essays are highly compressed, but together they are an unmatched guide both to their subject and to its literature. Three of them merit special note. "The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622" by Henry J. Cohn investigates why several Lutheran princes, notably the electors of Brandenburg and of the Palatinate, risked imperial outlawry and the hostility of fellow Lutheran princes by becoming Calvinists. Given the early popularity of Swiss and Bucerian theology in the south German cities, one might expect many cities to drift toward Calvinism during the Second Reformation, but only a few imperial cities took that route. Rather, Cohn confronts us with Lutheran urban elites successfully resisting the imposition of Calvinism by their Erastian territorial princes. R. J. W. Evans's essay on Calvinism in East Central Europe stresses Hungary but includes Poland and Bohemia. The fate of Calvinism in these lands varied greatly. In Poland it wasted away before resurgent Catholicism. In Bohemia it was uprooted by the victorious Habsburgs after the Battle of White Mountain. In Hungary (and Transylvania) it proved more popular than Lutheranism among the Magyars and has survived until our day. Evans's mastery of a scattered and difficult literature in many languages makes his synthesis of this material the most valuable essay in the collection. The literature on Calvinism in England is enormous and accessible; accordingly, Patrick Collinson's "England and International Calvinism, 1558–1640" concentrates on how English Calvinism, both inside and outside the Puritan movement, was affected by Continental scholars at the two universities, the various Strangers' Churches in London, and the writings of Calvin, Beza, Bullinger, Vermigli, Zanchi, and even Arminian divines. Collinson rightly balances the influence

of Geneva against that of other centers of Reformed thought such as Zurich and Heidelberg. His treatment suggests that this volume might well have included an essay on the German Swiss cities to balance that on Geneva. The other British essays are by Gillian Lewis (Geneva, 1541–1608), Prestwich (France, 1559–1629), Alastair Duke (the Netherlands, 1561–1618), Michael Lynch (Scotland, 1559–1638), and W. A. Speck and L. Billington (colonial North America, 1630–1715).

The four essays by Continental scholars are narrower in subject and less concerned with historiography. Richard Stauffer's "Calvin" is the best short sketch of the man and the theologian that I have seen; unfortunately, Stauffer's death in 1984 prevented him from adding notes or bibliography. Elisabeth Labrousse traces the fate of French Calvinists from the Edict of Nantes to its revocation; theirs is a story of oppression from without, declining vitality within, and increasing adherence to the absolutism of a monarch bent on crushing them. Phillipe Joutard provides the sequel in "The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: End or Renewal of French Protestantism?" He argues for renewal. His pages on the Camisard revolt summarize his monographs on the subject and present an unexpected type of French Calvinists, ecstatic visionaries. So much the worse for our stereotypes. Herbert Lüthy's "Variations on a Theme by Max Weber" is the most vigorous essay in the collection and the most old-fashioned. It cites only two items published after 1959 and ignores inconvenient voices such as Kurt Samuelsson. Its characterization of the Counter Reformation runs counter to much recent research. Myriam Yardeni's "French Political Thought, 1534–1715" combines the thorough bibliography of the British essays with the narrower, more thematic focus of the Continental ones.

Neither these essays nor the literature they cite addresses to Calvinist sources the questions that Gerald Strauss put to Lutheran sources for the second half of the sixteenth century. Whatever the result, an attempt to write "Calvin's House of Learning" should be made.

In her introduction the editor makes a valiant and erudite effort to highlight the bonds of theology and mutual support that united Calvinism throughout Europe, but she veers off into a discussion of Dutch and French Calvinist art. Even when allowances are made for the organization of this book around specific nations rather than themes, it suggests that local conditions shaped Calvinism more than did supranational factors. A Calvinist Internationale existed more in the nightmares of the Roman curia than in reality, and this book might with equal justice carry the title "National Calvinisms, 1541–1715." There are four good maps and an index. Despite minor caveats, this is a splendid contribu-

tion, which will supersede older works such as John T. McNeill's *The History and Character of Calvinism* (1954).

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ELISJA SCHULTE VAN KESSEL, editor. *Women and Men in Spiritual Culture, XIV–XVII Centuries: A Meeting of South and North*. (Studien Nederlands Instituut te Rom, number 8.) The Hague: Netherlands Government Publishing Office. 1986. Pp. 260.

This volume comprises the proceedings of a conference held in 1983 under the joint auspices of the History Department of the University of Rome and the Historical Department of the Netherlands Institute in Rome. Carefully planned to achieve a balance of nationalities, genders, and disciplinary approaches among the participants, the conference did not attain its main objective of systematically comparing Northern and Southern European female spiritual life in the early modern era. Perhaps, as several of the commentators suggested, the organizers' ambitions were too high. Under examination are several areas of inquiry and two widely separated geographical areas that have followed separate historiographical paths; thus, one could hardly expect that a strong new general hypothesis would have emerged in the course of a few days. Nevertheless, the meeting succeeded in promoting dialogue and in beginning to identify some issues for future research and discussion: the roles of divine and mundane mothers, the relations between women and male clergy, and the shifting confines of permissible female religious expression and action.

The Italo-Dutch conference also generated some excellent contributions. On the whole, the Italian essays are stronger—more original and analytical, more informed by insights from other disciplines, and more clearly written. Many of the Dutch essays, which are in English, as well as the English summaries of the Italian presentations, are full of errors in grammar and spelling and of stylistic infelicities that could have been eliminated by a competent Anglophone stylistic consultant.

Four particularly impressive contributions add significantly to our understanding of the impact of the Counter Reformation on Italian women: Adriano Prosperi's "Dalle 'divine madri' ai 'padri spirituali,'" Lucetta Scaraffia's "La beatificazione di Rita di Cascia: Un modello di santità femminile controriformistico," Andrea Erba's "Il 'caso' di Paola Antonia Negri nel Cinquecento italiano," and Romana Guarnieri's "'Nec domina nec ancilla, sed socia': Tre casi di direzione spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento." The relations Guarnieri examines, which she interprets (in my view too optimistically) as



demonstrating a cooperative quest by devout women and their confessors to satisfy their mutual need for love and assurance, seem to be exceptions. Clearly, from the mid-cinquecento on the official theology and policy of the church, implemented not only by individual confessors and inquisitors but also by the agents of secular governments in Catholic states, was characterized by growing fear of and contempt for women and consequent efforts to reduce them physically and psychologically to male control.

If this hypothesis (stated more baldly here than in the book under review) is valid, then anthropologically and psychologically oriented studies, such as Anton Blok's "Notes on the Concept of Virginity in Mediterranean Societies" and Luisa Accati's "Simboli maschili e simboli femminili nella devozione alla Madonna della Controriforma," as well as examinations of wealthy women's (especially widows') opportunities to assert themselves, such as Elisja Schulte Van Kessel's "Gender and Spirit, Pietas et Contemptu Mundi: Mother-Patrons in Early Modern Rome," can help us locate the interstices in the male power structure that made it a less than completely successful repressive mechanism. Hence we can definitively leave behind the ahistorical dead end of "woman as victim." Furthermore, as Anneke Mulder-Bakker observes in her comment, the Netherlands, with its late medieval noncloistered female religious groups (explored in Florence Koon's study of the Beguines and the Sisters of the Common Life) and its religious pluralism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, offers particularly rich opportunities for testing and perhaps extending this emerging paradigm.

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JOHANNES BURKHARDT. *Abschied vom Religionskrieg: Der Siebenjährige Krieg und die päpstliche Diplomatie*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. 1985. Pp. viii, 487. DM 128.

While researching another topic, the author of this *Habilitationsschrift* noticed that the Seven Years' War dominated papal diplomatic correspondence from 1756 to 1763. So he decided to investigate the extent to which the war was a religious war, especially for the papacy during the pontificates of Benedict XIV and his successor, Clement XIII. Johannes Burkhardt thus calls attention to an aspect of the war that was clear to contemporaries and later to Leopold von Ranke but has been overlooked by modern research. His study is based largely on original research in the Vatican Archives and in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna.

During the Counter Reformation papal diplomacy had sought to unite the Catholic rulers, especially the Habsburgs and Bourbons, against the Protestants. Much later the diplomatic revolution of 1756 allied the two dominant Catholic states, Austria and France, against Protestant England and Prussia, and the service of religion as an "integrating factor" (p. 53) on both sides sounded echoes of the Wars of Religion. There was never any question of the papacy entering the alliance. But the Catholic powers wanted papal support, and the papacy was more than willing to supply moral, diplomatic, and financial aid. But this was done for the most part secretly, so as not to heighten fears of religious war.

Burkhardt finds that the papacy was caught between the institutional tradition of the religious war and the eighteenth-century feeling for toleration. The papacy pursued confessional goals in Germany with some success: improvement of the lot of Catholics in Silesia and, in the war's last years, defeat of attempts to secularize prince-bishoprics in north-west Germany. Papal diplomacy failed to secure an interpretation of the *jus reformandi* granted by the Peace of Westphalia that would have enabled recently converted princes in Hesse-Kassel, Saxony, and Württemberg to advance the interests of the Catholic church there. Unable to provide direct subsidies, both popes authorized taxation of the German clergy for the war effort. Burkhardt analyzes the language of papal correspondence and documents and finds elements of the mentality of the religious wars of the Counter Reformation but differences from it too: for example, the cause of God was no longer simply identified with that of the Catholic princes. Most significant, and deserving of still more emphasis than the author gives it, was the papacy's refusal to acknowledge the war publicly as a religious war. Under Benedict XIV the rhetoric of religious war was found only in internal Roman communications. The chief difference between the two popes was not in their policy or mentality, according to Burkhardt, but in Clement's greater readiness to reveal his mind, at least in correspondence with the Catholic powers.

This is a solid, well-written contribution to the history of the papacy and the relationship between religion and politics in the eighteenth century. Yet it suffers from the failure to define clearly what is meant by religious war and by toleration. One can, for example, distinguish between religious war fought to advance or defend religious interests and religious or holy war fought at God's behest and with promise of his aid. Burkhardt also seems to exaggerate at times the strength of the institutional tradition of religious war in earlier papal history. The book will, one hopes, foster further studies of the early modern papacy and of religious war, a phenomenon that is still with us today.



The volume includes fifty-seven documents in the original languages, some published in full, others in part.

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T. H. ASTON and C. H. E. PHILPIN, editors. *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe*. (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. viii, 339. \$34.50.

The divergent paths of agricultural transformation in Western and Eastern Europe from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century have long fascinated and puzzled historians. In 1976 Robert Brenner published a provocative article in *Past and Present* entitled "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe." His object was threefold: first, to challenge the longstanding "commercialization model" according to which historians had quite sensibly emphasized the strengths or weaknesses of market forces as the principal determinants of agricultural systems; second, to refute the more recent "demographic model," which assigned the principal role in agricultural transformations to fluctuations in population; and, third, to advance his own, distinctive, Marxist model.

According to Brenner "it is the structure of class relations, of class power, which will determine the manner and degree to which particular demographic and commercial changes will effect long-run trends in the distribution of income and economic growth—and not vice versa. . . . Different class structures, specifically 'property relations' or 'surplus extractions relations,' once established, tend to impose rather strict limits and possibilities, indeed rather specific long-term patterns, on a society's economic development . . . . In sum, fully to comprehend long-term economic development, growth and/or retrogression in the late medieval and early modern period, it is critical to analyse the relatively autonomous processes by which particular class structures, especially property or surplus-extraction relations are established and in particular the class conflicts to which they do (or do not) give rise. For it is in the outcome of such class conflicts . . . that is to be found perhaps the key to the problem of long-term economic development in late medieval and early modern Europe, and more generally of the transition from feudalism to capitalism" (pp. 11–12).

To substantiate his claims, Brenner reviewed a massive body of historical material on Eastern and Western Europe but concentrated his attention par-

ticularly on England and France. England broke out of a "traditional economy" to agrarian capitalism. This "relatively self-sustaining economic development was predicated upon the emergence of a specific set of class relations in the countryside. . . . This outcome depended, in turn, upon the previous success of a two-sided process of class development and class conflict: on the one hand, the destruction of serfdom; on the other hand, the short-circuiting of the emerging predominance of small peasant property" (p. 30). By contrast, "it was . . . the predominance of petty proprietorship in France in the early modern period which ensured long-term agricultural backwardness" (p. 29).

Not surprisingly, no one in the ensuing debate agreed with Brenner. Errors in fact, narrowness of vision, distortion of evidence, simplistic conceptualization, and the tendentious exaggeration of historical contrasts figured prominently in the charges brought against him. M. M. Postan restated his well-known interpretation of overpopulation, technological underdevelopment, and dwindling soil fertility for medieval England; Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie defended his neo-Malthusian or neo-Ricardian views of Languedoc in particular and of early modern France in general; even Guy Bois, a Marxist of a slightly different stripe, took issue with Brenner. Heide Wunder questioned Brenner's grasp of Eastern European agricultural history. Patricia Groot and David Parker reviewed the early modern period for both France and England and found themselves more often than not at odds with Brenner. The most ambitious refutation was begun by J. P. Cooper, who, unfortunately, died before he could put his manuscript in final form. Cooper's "In Search of Agrarian Capitalism" is a wide-ranging and thoughtful piece that moves far beyond England and France. It appears, regrettably, in rough-draft form. Brenner had the last word in the debate in a response to his critics that runs over a hundred pages.

What do we make of all of this? It is hard to agree with the editors of this volume, T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philpin, that "the Brenner debate, as it has come to be called, may justifiably lay claim to being one of the most important historical debates of recent years" (p. vii). This exchange was more of a dialogue of the deaf shouting past each other than a true debate. One also suspects that the limited range of responses to Brenner's challenge and the notable absence of a rejoinder as comprehensive in scope as Brenner's initial article reflects a general weariness of and growing indifference to Marxist historiography. After all, Paul Sweezy and Maurice Dobb virtually exhausted this topic thirty-five years ago. For all Brenner's industry and ingenuity, his updated Marxist view is about what one would expect.

This volume, as well as the debate, lacks a systematic summary of views critical of Brenner's Marxist interpretation. Such a summary, drawn just on the work of the authors already cited and on Arnošt Klíma's lucid article on preindustrial Bohemia in this volume, would demonstrate that perhaps half a dozen distinct patterns or models of agricultural development or stagnation existed in preindustrial Europe. All of these patterns involved economic, demographic, political, and social factors mixed in different proportions. Unquestionably, some areas followed a Malthusian or Ricardian schema; in others urban markets or foreign export markets predominated. No single model, and certainly not Brenner's, will suffice to explain the diverse developments of agriculture in preindustrial Europe.

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JOHN D. POST. *Food Shortage, Climatic Variability, and Epidemic Disease in Preindustrial Europe: The Mortality Peak in the Early 1740s*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1985. Pp. 303. \$29.95.

To Europeans of the Old Regime the appearance of severe and unpredictable weather meant discomfort, poor agricultural production, hunger, perhaps even death. For half a century, since the work of Wilhelm Abel, Georges Lefebvre, and Jean Meuvret, historians have considered the implications of this record and attempted to judge the role played by weather and other hardships. We have learned more, and some questions have been laid to rest. Those questions that remain have become more focused. Among these more refined subjects of study is that explored in this book, which is an attempt to pinpoint the ways that "climatic variability" affected the food supply and mortality. John D. Post studies the early 1740s, a period during which much of Europe experienced harsh weather, low agricultural productivity, and high mortality. His most important subject is the cause of high mortality. Post has brought together a compendium of results that have been published by others to paint a picture of mortality and its causes (he emphasizes hypothermia, hunger, and epidemic disease), weather, cereal harvests, grain prices, and forms of welfare and public relief. The author thus brings us both the latest scientific findings about crop development, cold, starvation, and disease and many older references to narrative accounts of life in the eighteenth century.

Post asserts that climatic variability and severe weather had mixed results. The weather patterns of the early 1740s might have diminished crop outcomes, but they did not always do so and varied from region to region. Famine was not an automatic

result, because many states were capable of mobilizing resources to diminish food shortages. Similarly, the combination of bad weather, high cereal prices, and diminished food supplies led to death, but they did not always do so through epidemic disease. Even when epidemic disease was prevalent it was not always the result of hunger lowering resistance to disease, as some authors have suggested. Death from hypothermia must have been common among the young and elderly, he suggests. Moreover, some epidemic diseases spread by contact even without reduced resistance, because cold weather forced more people to stay inside during the long winter and because war and disrupted economic conditions put more people on the road, spreading disease. Governmental action played a part in the variability of the crisis of the 1740s. In an important part of his argument, the author suggests that England and Prussia had the lowest mortality because of effective poor relief, whereas Ireland and Scandinavia had the highest mortality because of inadequate government programs. France, Scotland, and the Low Countries fell in an intermediate category. He suggests by this that government programs played a meaningful role in enhancing the general welfare in states that had effective programs.

By undertaking a detailed search of the literature about Europe during a short period, Post has rendered a very useful service. We learn a great deal about the mechanisms of severe weather and harvest shortfall from Post's book. First, Post brings the latest scientific opinions about weather, agriculture, and disease to bear on the historical evidence. Second, Post's effective comparisons clear away the undergrowth of rumor and inadequate analysis that is the inevitable consequence of individual local studies. The book is marred in an equally inevitable way by the author's methodology. Any compilation of the research of others will be victimized by their selections of regions of study and questions asked. One wishes Post had more information about many regions and that the sources on which he relied were equally reputable. Finally, by referring in his title to "preindustrial" Europe, the author unthinkingly slights the important role early industrial development played in diminishing famine. But these are minor criticisms of a book that answers a number of important questions about the causes of the periodic high mortality that reigned in Europe of the Old Regime. Post has divided that mortality into meaningful components, shown how they were produced by cold, famine, and independent microorganisms, and cleared up many misunderstandings about the interrelationships of these powerful forces.

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NORMAN J. G. POUNDS. *An Historical Geography of Europe, 1800–1914*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. xx, 598. \$69.50.

This is the third and final volume of Norman J. G. Pounds's *Historical Geography of Europe*. The first two volumes covered the subject from antiquity to the eve of Continental industrialization. The present volume spans the nineteenth century, ending with a survey of the condition of Europe immediately before World War I.

This is a fat book filled with information, generously supplied with maps, copiously annotated with nearly two thousand notes, and liberally sprinkled with the author's reflections and opinions. Pounds lays out the physical and spatial context of Europe's nineteenth-century economic history in ten chapters covering natural resource endowments, population, urbanization, agriculture, manufacturing, and transportation. In each chapter he is careful to touch all bases, directing the reader's attention not only to France and Germany but also to Scandinavia, Iberia, Poland, and the Balkans. Pounds does not, however, discuss the British Isles. This traditional British approach is bound to exasperate many North American readers, and it undermines the effectiveness of the analysis of many subjects over which the British economy looms as a giant but invisible presence.

It is not difficult to find fault with this book. It is by no means free of errors; many maps are inadequately identified; the analysis does not often proceed beyond question-begging commonplaces and unsubstantiated opinions; important subjects such as colonialism and intercontinental trade are neglected; many of the references are long out of date. Ironically, although this volume is the third of a series spanning two millennia of European history, one of its weaknesses is a failure to place many developments (particularly those pertaining to urbanization, agriculture, and transportation) in their proper historical context.

Yet, the persistent reader is not left unrewarded. The chapters on manufacturing and the development of industrial regions are the strongest, imparting a sense of dynamic change in textiles and metallurgy and emphasizing the regional, often cross-national, context of industrialization. They nicely complement Sidney Pollard's *Peaceful Conquest* (1981) and provide compact, clarifying descriptions of the industrial zones of Upper Silesia, Saxony, Lyons–Saint-Etienne, Łódź, and the remarkable region stretching from northern France through Belgium into Germany.

The volume as a whole fails to satisfy less because of its specific weaknesses, real though they are, than because of its design. Historical geography should be something other than an undemanding eco-

nomic history that happens to pay attention to soil types and rock formations. The time is ripe for the introduction of "structural" factors to explanations of nineteenth-century development, but this volume's cataloguing and describing bent misses the mark. One can learn many things from this book, but only occasionally is "geography" anything but a passive factor.

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ARTHUR B. FERGUSON. *The Chivalric Tradition in Renaissance England*. (Forger Books.) Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library or Associated University Presses, Cranbury, N.J. 1986. Pp. 184. \$26.50.

Arthur B. Ferguson sets himself the task of tracing the fortunes of a late chivalry in Tudor England, a tradition evident in the persisting ideals of knight-errantry. The task is not easy, for, although something of chivalry endured in the sixteenth century, how can one separate it from nostalgia, mistaken notions, romance, and deliberate archaizing? And how can one trace chivalric ideals, if at all, in the world that lay outside court pageantry, jousting, and the strong taste for Arthurian romance?

Yet Ferguson has done a most exemplary job of sorting out and tracing an elusive theme, and so his book brings much light to an interesting part of the Tudor canvas. A residual chivalry continued to provide ideals, however diluted or distorted, for men of the nobility and gentry.

In his introduction the author underlines the mystique of knight-errantry, with its related themes of courtly love, valor, honor, justice, magnanimity and roving "individualism" (p. 17). The fifteenth-century chivalric revival (chap. 1) collected chiefly around works by Thomas Malory and William Caxton, for whom the individualist fight for honor was foremost. Perhaps inevitably, the early Tudors used the glamorous trappings of chivalry for political ends, but Tudor humanism, particularly as profiled in Thomas Elyot's *Governour*, nearly cast the old ideals completely aside by urging classical study, practical citizenship, and the importance of political nous (chaps. 2–3). The chivalry of the Elizabethan revival (chap. 4) was most notably articulated in the glorification of the queen, in Accession Day tilts, in the extravagant behavior of certain courtiers (for example, Philip Sidney, Walter Raleigh, the earl of Essex), in Sidney's *Arcadia* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. The new craze for duelling was also, in certain eyes, a moment in this revival. But since, obviously, the late sixteenth century was no world for the knight-errant, his legacy issued in strange and ambiguous unions, as in the marriage of chiv-

alry and pastoral or chivalry and the Ciceronian ideal of citizenship (chaps. 5–6). In the concluding chapters the author examines the chivalric revival in the light of the new sense of history (in part a by-product of humanism), to find that the older ideals were madly out of touch with contemporary political and social needs. The Tudor state, after all, sought the allegiance of subjects not the triumph of private honors. As a result, the chivalric code was soon derided or indicted, as in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*.

Ferguson is a demystifier. This shrewd and subtle book enables us to track the protean quality of certain ideals and to witness the receptivity of consciousness, above all, in matters touching upper-class interests. The knight turned shepherd was simply another courtly game, wherein simplicity was not simple but devious, since it was about the courtier's longing for some respite from the savagery of ambition at court.

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J. P. SOMMERVILLE. *Politics and Ideology in England, 1603–1640*. White Plains, N.Y.: Longman. 1986. Pp. x, 254. Paper \$12.95.

In his article "Revisionism Revised: Two Perspectives on Early Stuart Parliamentary History—The Place of Principle," Derek Hirst concludes that "the troubles of the early Stuarts were not just the results of war and localist inertia: principles were also involved" (*Past and Present* [1981]: 99). J. P. Sommerville addresses his book to this point. Ideology, he maintains, has recently been neglected. Englishmen did not, he asserts, share "a single political outlook" (p. 3). They differed widely in their views on "the nature and limitations of royal authority, on the relationship between the law and the king," and on the proper role of Parliament in church affairs (p. 4). He draws his material not from the great political philosophers, from parliamentary debates, or even from the state papers (pp. 2, 5, 232) but primarily from pamphlets, treatises, and sermons.

The first half of the book deals with principles: the divine right of kings, government by consent, and the ancient constitution. The second half of the book shows the application of these principles in specific cases: the case of John Cowell's *Interpreter*, for example, and of Roger Maynwaring's and Robert Sibthorp's printed sermons. Events that led up to the Petition of Right in 1628 sharpened the discussion of royal prerogative and subject's rights, particularly property rights (p. 163), which had been successively threatened by royal impositions, monopolies, the collection of tonnage and poundage,

and the forced loan. Arbitrary imprisonment raised the issue of the relation between royal power and the common law (p. 171). Finally, in exploring opposition to royal policies in the church and the regime of William Laud, Sommerville links theological convictions and constitutional grievances. He believes that the threat to individual liberties posed by Laud's policies, rather than the theology of Arminianism, led to resistance (p. 223).

Sommerville's "plain and simple tale of principled conflict" (p. 231) is well researched, clearly thought through, and admirably written. We may fairly ask what he has added to Margaret Judson's standard book, *The Crisis of the Constitution* (1949). Although much more parliamentary material is now available, he relies far less on the debates than Judson did. He has, however, taken advantage of and used to good effect the almost forty years of research and writing since Judson's book appeared. He does far more than update Judson. Giving a fresh view of political ideas of seventeenth-century England, Sommerville shows their relationship to practical politics (p. 2) and emphasizes the fundamental disagreements on basic tenets (p. 4). Students will find the book at once provocative and reliable—so too will their professors.

ELIZABETH READ FOSTER  
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JONATHAN HAYNES. *The Humanist as Traveler: George Sandys's Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610*. Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, for Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, Rutherford, N.J. 1986. Pp. 159. \$26.50.

George Sandys moved naturally in both the intellectual and colonial circles of early seventeenth-century England. His father had been a learned archbishop of York, and his famous brother, Edwin, was important in the East India Company and dominated the Virginia Company. George published translations that ranged from Ovid to Grotius, and for a time he served as treasurer in Virginia. His interests in scholarship and in travel had been rehearsed in the publication of his *Relation* in 1615. Eight editions up to 1673 as well as inclusion in the contemporary collections of travel accounts indicate a work worthy of reexamination, and Jonathan Haynes offers that reexamination.

Haynes opens with a succinct history of travel literature in England, where development beyond the medieval cosmographies lagged behind the French critical scholarship of the late sixteenth century. By the turn of the century French influence and the labors of Richard Hakluyt were beginning to change some English geographical accounts. (The changes in geography have a parallel in the changes in historiography as described in J. G. A.



Pocock's *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law* [1957].) By combining humanist learning with the realities of travel, Sandys importantly contributed to those changes. Haynes emphasizes that the literary qualities of the *Relation* are not decorations on a travel narrative; they are equal and integral parts of a work that owes as much to a humanist's library as to a traveler's experience.

Sandys traveled the eastern Mediterranean, and his account treats Turkey, Egypt, the Holy Land, and Italy. From each area he took a different picture, in part because he brought to each area attitudes and knowledge shaped by his studies. For Sandys, Turkey meant Islam, and Islam was for him the enemy, the negative image of Christianity. In many other accounts Egypt's almost incomprehensible antiquity was reduced to a fascination with the mysterious and the occult, especially symbolized by hieroglyphs. Although Sandys was no more equipped than his contemporaries to learn the history of Egypt, his skepticism did not permit him to reduce Egypt to the source of hermeticism. That same skepticism informed his experience in the Holy Land, where he saw the land's devastation as a divine retribution and where the multitude of squabbling Christian churches reinforced his Protestant dislike for shrines and relics. His arrival in Italy, by way of Cyprus, Crete, and Malta, was a literary homecoming, for, throughout his travels in Sicily and southern Italy, he was the humanist, fusing his travels and classical literature into one.

Haynes is a good guide to Sandys's *Relation*. He has undertaken a worthwhile study, but he has not inflated either the importance of the *Relation* or his treatment of it. His treatment bears a kind of imitation of the *Relation*, for Haynes uses frequent and extensive quotations from it in much the same way that Sandys used the classics. Haynes's analysis is sometimes so compressed that it seems cryptic, and one is left wishing for fewer and shorter quotations from Sandys and more expansive explanations from Haynes.

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NANCY L. MATTHEWS. *William Sheppard, Cromwell's Law Reformer*. (Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1984. Pp. xviii, 307. \$54.50.

William Sheppard, a country lawyer from Gloucestershire who served as Cromwell's main legal adviser during the Protectorate, was one of the most prolific English legal authors of the seventeenth century. Between 1641 and 1674 Sheppard wrote more than twenty books on legal topics, including a number of handbooks for justices of the peace, the first ency-

clopedia of the law in English, and a comprehensive proposal for law reform, which appeared under the title of *England's Balne* in 1656. Among the changes that he advocated were the rational reorganization of the judicial system, a reduction in the number of capital crimes, the registration of land in the counties, and the elimination of French and Latin in all legal proceedings and records. By the standards of the mid-seventeenth century Sheppard might be considered a moderate law reformer, in that he had no intention of destroying either the existing corpus of English law or the legal profession. Indeed, he had much more in common with early seventeenth-century law reformers, such as Sir John Dodderidge and Sir Henry Finch, than with the radicals of the Civil War period. In many respects, however, Sheppard was more original than the radical law reformers of his day, and his commitment to reform was unrivalled.

Nancy L. Matthews has written an extremely thorough and careful study of Sheppard, who, despite his great literary output, has remained a fairly obscure figure in English legal history. She presents a detailed account of his life and professional career and then discusses his legal works in chronological order. Since his writings were of a practical nature, Matthews's commentaries provide some valuable information regarding the actual operation of the law in the middle of the seventeenth century. Matthews also explores the official relationship between Sheppard and Cromwell, both of whom she claims "spent their lives in unflagging pursuit of reform" (p. 8). She firmly establishes that Sheppard was the author of Cromwell's Chancery Ordinance of 1654 as well as the inspiration of the government's proposed legislation on law reform in 1656. Her study of the Parliament of that year illustrates both the persistence of efforts at reform during the latter years of the Protectorate and the strength of the forces of reaction and inertia that ensured their defeat.

Matthews argues that Sheppard's religious beliefs were central to his desire for law reform. Undoubtedly, Sheppard, who thought that only the godly should rule, saw a reformed law as part of God's providential plan. His admiration for the law of Massachusetts and his use of the Bible as the basis of some of his proposed reforms of the criminal law also reveal the operation of a Puritan mind. Most of his legal writings, however, give more evidence of a lawyer trying to make the legal system more efficient than of a Puritan trying to reform society. Comparisons with other law reformers might have been helpful in this regard, but Matthews includes little comparative material in the book. The only other Puritan law reformer who receives more than passing mention is Cromwell himself, and even his views are not explored in depth. Matthews's exhaustive



and sympathetic treatment of Sheppard, however, makes an important contribution to the history of English law and to our understanding of the Cromwellian regime.

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MICHAEL R. WATTS. *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution*. Reprint. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1985. Pp. xii, 543. \$19.95.

The present volume is a slightly revised paperback edition of a book first published in 1978. It is intended as the first volume, covering roughly the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, of a projected three-volume history of English Dissent. It recounts the early history of what were to become the Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian, Quaker, and Methodist faiths.

Michael R. Watts is a very able scholar indeed. His work promises to become, when completed, the new standard history of the tradition. This work clearly supplants such old standard full-scale treatments of the subject as H. W. Clark's, *History of English Nonconformity* (1911–13) and Herbert Skeats's and Charles Miall's *History of the Free Churches of England* (1868–91).

The historiography of Puritanism and Dissent has too long been victim of confessional prejudices. Anglican historians have tended to regret loudly the Puritans' lack of respect for the unity and tradition of the church catholic. Historians from within the Dissenting traditions have tended to write hagiography. The present volume treads a neat and narrow path toward objectivity. One will not easily discern Watts's denominational commitment from reading his work.

Perhaps the greatest value of this book is that it synthesizes and critically examines the great mass of sources and scholarly writing in the field that have appeared in the last century and brings these into easy reach of the scholarly community. The mass of local records, denominational periodicals, and solid scholarly articles and monographs produced in the area is phenomenal. In slightly over five hundred pages, the author brings an enormous amount of this body of scholarly endeavor, as well as his own original studies, to bear on his synoptic view.

Watts is deeply interested in issues and sources that often are ignored by writers of religious history. For instance, he thoughtfully wrestles with the relationships between religious belief and economic activity. He seeks to evaluate the substantial statistical evidence on religious practice in England and Wales. He attempts to recover as much as can be recovered of the lives, beliefs, and religious practices

of ordinary lay men and women, rather than focusing exclusively on the leaders of the various groups.

The scholarly community may be grateful to Clarendon for making this crucial volume of modern scholarship available in paperback.

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J. C. D. CLARK. *English Society, 1688–1832: Ideology, Social Structure, and Political Practice during the Ancien Régime*. (Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. xiii, 442. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$14.95.

To say that Jonathan C. D. Clark has read everybody and agrees with nobody would be to exaggerate—but not much. This book is a work of marvelous erudition and, at least in the boldness and clarity of its interpretation, of striking originality.

Clark contends that the prime causal factors during the period were religious. Whereas the prevailing interpretations seek economically based social explanations of political and social behavior, Clark sees both as firmly based in religious belief. The key to the period is what contemporaries called the Anglican constitution in church and state. When this was demolished by the events of 1828–29, everything fell apart, and the *ancien régime* in Britain was over.

Doubtless, Clark goes too far; he is certainly far too dismissive of historians who have preceded him, but this should not be allowed to obscure the truth in what he says. Certainly, he is right in his contention that the dominant ideology of the period, what most people believed either implicitly or explicitly for most of the time, can be summed up in the slogan "Church and King," in which "Church" meant the religion of the social and political elite and provided the theoretical and moral justification for their privileged position. All the evidence suggests that the majority of Englishmen loved their king and had little use for dissenters, whether Catholic or Protestant.

Equally sensible seems the thesis that such loyal behavior had its foundations in the teachings of the church. After 1688, as before, the message was one of subordination to divinely constituted authority, whether of kings or of one's social superiors. Later movements, such as Wesley's, were no less firm on the point in their political teachings. Infinitely more people were exposed to such ideas than, say, to those of Locke. Even official Walpolean Whiggery accepted the majority opinion, as Walpole's refusal to tamper with the Test and Corporation Acts demonstrated.

On the other side, Clark correctly identifies the most important challenge to the system as coming from those who differed theologically from the existing establishment. Orthodoxy was politically conservative, heterodoxy politically radical. John Wilkes was born a Dissenter, Christopher Wyvill was a Unitarian churchman, and the reforming movement looked to such people for leadership and drew the solid core of its rank and file support from them.

So far, so good. In dealing with this challenge to the established order, however, Clark becomes somewhat confusing. Swimming against the tide as usual, he closely identifies with those who have advanced the "deference model" to explain political behavior. That the Anglican constitution and the theories on which it was based would have promoted deferential behavior seems evident enough. Equally evident, one would have thought, the developing doctrine of religious liberty, with its exaltation of individual judgment, would have had precisely the opposite effect. But here, I must confess, Clark loses me. He strongly endorses the views of D. C. Moore, based on studies of nineteenth-century electoral behavior, but assures us that deference is not to be confused with obedience (p. 18, n. 41)!

Perhaps this is the answer to a vexed historical debate. If deference means only that more often than not electors were willing to follow the lead of a social superior, then I think most historians could accept the notion. Rather more important, I would suggest, were those instances where they were not willing to do so.

Certainly, the logic of Clark's argument is that the events of 1828–29, leading to the triumph of reform in 1830–32, irrevocably undermined the deferential society. He would have done better to have stuck to that line of argument. Catholic emancipation did indeed lead to a precipitation of discontents that found a solution in reform (as the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts freed dissenting energies for that cause). But the fury of anti-Catholic electors, including many Dissenters, was probably equally important, and far more lasting, than that of their Ultra spokesmen in Parliament. The Ultras mostly drew back in horror when reform became an actual possibility. The electorate did not.

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CHARLES CARLTON. *Royal Childhoods*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1986. Pp. xi, 204. \$29.95.

The many fans of the British royal family may relish this beautiful book. Scholars will not be so happy. This book consists less of an analysis of royal childhood than of psychobiographies of eight of England's monarchs, ranging from William I to Edward

VIII, with a concluding chapter on the present royal family. That something is wrong here the careful reader learns instantly from the bibliography, whose entries include only the standard biographical works of the eight persons studied, along with a smattering of Freud and Erikson. None of the outstanding work of the past twenty years on the history of the family, whether from a demographic, economic, legal, or feminist perspective, is represented. The book appears to have been written in a vacuum.

Lacking a historical context, Charles Carlton is both overwhelmed by, and uncritical of, psychology. He never questions whether an adolescent identity crisis was the same in the twelfth century as in our own. He tends to impose a cloyingly sentimental and ahistorical view of families and does not provide the reader with any serious evidence to support his assumptions about them. We learn, for instance, that William the Conqueror was motivated by a desire to overcome the stigma of bastardy. This may have been so, but such an explanation makes sense only if we know something about illegitimacy in the eleventh century. Carlton's posture as a psychohistorian forces him to provide a psychological explanation when the more traditional political one would be more convincing. Although the author admits that Elizabeth I had sound political reasons for not marrying, he nevertheless concludes that her virginity was neurotic and came from an "inability to consummate a relationship, to give wholly of her mind and body" (p. 73). He is especially off base in the chapter on King John, who we learn was "engendered by one last desperate physical coupling to save a dommed marriage" (p. 28). Who knows if the marriage of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine had every been more than a political alliance? Ignoring the political realities of this marriage, Carlton also writes that Henry imprisoned Eleanor so that he could "enjoy his mistresses undisturbed" (p. 37) and that Eleanor became "bitter" at being "cast aside for a younger woman" (p. 27). Such forays into the mentality of the docudrama are, fortunately, rare, but these few illustrate Carlton's simple-minded application of psychology.

Perhaps no one could write a methodologically sophisticated analysis of royal childhood over one thousand years, and certainly such was not the author's intention. But he does not appear to have succeeded on his own terms. We cannot conclude anything from reading this book about the effect of childhood on the adult personality of monarchs. Until that of the present queen, English royals appear to have had consistently dreadful childhoods. But some turned out to be great monarchs, whereas others were terrible. Some proved to be devoted spouses, some were appalling, and Elizabeth never tried. Carlton finds no pattern in all of this, and one is indeed difficult to discern.

Carlton's book is of course full of rousing good stories and amusing anecdotes. The pictures are unusually well done. They were selected carefully and have informative, helpful captions. But even casual readers may find the book rough going. There is little continuity either within chapters or from chapter to chapter. Sentences are too long and cumbersome.

Royal childhood is an important subject, and surely the insights of psychology can and should be used to deepen our understanding of historical figures. But only a more serious, if less charming, book will accomplish that.

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JEREMY BLACK. *The British and the Grand Tour*. Dover, N.H.: Croom Helm. 1985. Pp. 273. \$29.00.

The first full-scale, serious study in English of the grand tour was published in 1914 by the American scholar W. E. Mead. In it he defined the grand tour as a program of travel and education that was "an indispensable form of education for young men in the higher ranks of society." Jeremy Black adopts a much broader definition and prefers to deal with this unique aspect of the education experience of the eighteenth-century English elite as but part of tourism in general.

The study consists largely of descriptive accounts, based on an impressive array of printed and unpublished materials, dealing with a wide range of topics that includes routes and destinations, methods of transport, accommodation, food, drink, love, sex, gambling, and the impact (mostly the lack of it) of Continental religion on the English tourist. Although Black quotes extensively from manuscript and printed sources, the study does not add a great deal to what we already know of the preoccupations and attitudes of English persons who traveled in Europe in the eighteenth century from the work of Mead and a host of others. In fact, one wonders why certain chapters were included at all. For instance, the section devoted to health and death is a random catalogue of those who became ill or died while traveling in Europe. Other sections—such as that on the changing ideology of the grand tour—are suggestive but remain largely undeveloped. The major weakness of the study lies, however, in the author's decision to treat the grand tour as part of tourism in general, for in doing so he avoids a sustained analysis of what he claims to be the main goal of his undertaking—to present a scholarly study of the purposes, motives, and achievements of those who went on the grand tour in the eighteenth century.

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MARGARET DELACY. *Prison Reform in Lancashire, 1700–1850: A Study in Local Administration*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1986. Pp. vii, 272. \$34.00.

Historians have been slow to respond to the provocative sweep of Michael Ignatieff's pioneering study of the emergence of the penitentiary. Margaret DeLacy's careful examination of the Lancashire system is not only the first full-length study of imprisonment in England since *A Just Measure of Pain* was published in 1978 but also the first designed, as she puts it, "as a test of the radical view" (p. 6). The "radicals" (most influentially, Ignatieff and Michel Foucault), viewing prison history from the heights of social theory, paid scant attention to how, or indeed if, the reforms they discussed were actually carried out. DeLacy has responded to the omission by applying what she calls "a molehill view of history" (that is, pragmatic, archival research) to a single county prison system to determine what that system "was like before it was reformed; what led local administrators to embark on reform; just what reforms were in fact made; the political, economic, and social context that defined the reforms; and what sort of prison system they created" (p. 11).

The result is a closeup picture that to some extent confirms but also heavily qualifies the radical version of prison history. Lancashire's four prisons defy simple categorization as the product of a comprehensive, national penal policy. "They ranged from Lancaster Castle, which was more or less a model of the 'unreformed' system, to Preston, as close to a model of the new system as any county prison, to Salford, reformed but embodying all the abuses of the old system—corrupt, crowded and brutal—to Kirkdale, brand-new but nearly ungoverned" (p. 12). This diversity, of course, confirms what opponents of the "social control" theory have long contended—that ideology and the desire of one class to perpetuate its domination over another are, of themselves, an overly simple explanation for changes in penal practice. DeLacy conclusively demonstrates that, in Lancashire, and presumably elsewhere, the prison system was shaped not by the efforts of a conspiratorial elite but by the interaction of many factors: political events, economic problems, contemporary preoccupations, scientific theories, technical constraints, particular personalities, and "a shifting balance of power between the people of the county, the justices, the inspectors, the prison staff, and Parliament" (p. 14). On the other hand, her study bears out the radical contention that the traditional, benevolent account of prison reform is unacceptably naive. For most of those who had a say in the administration of Lancashire's prisons, "self-interest and altruism were inextricably mixed" (p. 227).

These conclusions will probably not surprise anyone familiar with, say university administration. Nevertheless, they represent a major revision of both the traditional and radical views of prison reform. Although Robin Evans's remarkable recent study of prison design (*The Fabrication of Virtue: English Prison Architecture, 1750–1840* [1982]) incorporates similar conclusions, DeLacy is the first historian to address frontally Foucault's and Ignatieff's view of the prison as an instrument of class domination. Much to her credit, her alternative model is subtle, persuasive, and a welcome advertisement for old-fashioned molehill history.

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THOMAS ROGERS FORBES, *Surgeons at the Bailey: English Forensic Medicine to 1878*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1985. Pp. xiii, 255. \$26.00.

Forensic medicine is the presentation and application of medical information in a law court. Thomas Rogers Forbes, a distinguished historian of medicine, has written a book that is, in his words, "less a history than a chronicle" of English forensic medicine from the Middle Ages to 1878 (p. 1). That is the book's strength and weakness.

Most of the book is organized in chapters dealing with a particular issue in forensic medicine, such as poisoning or insanity. Although Forbes includes some valuable statistical data, the bulk of each chapter consists of summaries of individual court cases and their contribution to the development of an area of forensic medicine. The cases, presented in Forbes's engaging prose style, make for lively reading. Each chapter represents a valuable compendium of information for the historian of, for example, Victorian poisoning or homicide. As a source book, this work is extremely valuable.

The book's admitted weakness, however, is that it is not really a history of forensic medicine. It lacks a cohesive structure and a unifying theme. Forbes makes precious few generalizations and little attempt to relate forensic medicine to developments in the history of medicine or law.

Finally, Forbes includes in an appendix a list of the major eighteenth- and nineteenth-century works on forensic medicine and a complete bibliography. In sum, this book is a valuable resource for British historians and an important springboard for a history of forensic medicine.

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DAVID H. PRATT, *English Quakers and the First Industrial Revolution: A Study of the Quaker Community in*

*Four Industrial Counties—Lancashire, York, Warwick, and Gloucester, 1750–1830*. (British Economic History.) New York: Garland. 1985. Pp. x, 226. \$28.00.

Understanding of epic historical changes can be illuminated by the careful investigation of small groups involved. Thus, much recent literature on the Industrial Revolution has focused on members of various occupations, religious affiliations, and regions of Britain. David H. Pratt's book gives its attention to the Quaker communities in four industrial counties—Lancashire, York, Warwick, and Gloucester—between 1750 and 1830.

The first half of Pratt's study deals with general issues. He begins with a summary of the Weber thesis and its critics. Pratt finds that Quaker activities generally substantiated Weber's conclusions about the relationship between capitalism and Protestantism. Then, Quaker communities are placed into their eighteenth-century intellectual and social context. Pratt gives special attention to the development of banking. His research shows that, by 1790, roughly one-fourth of British banks were in Quaker hands. Their reputation for honesty, combined with the corporate structure of their communities, made banking a natural and respectable enterprise. Pratt's general conclusions are amply substantiated by his research into the financial careers of a number of leading Quaker families. Quakers were highly motivated and anxious to make a substantial contribution to progress, yet they retained values that condemned excessive personal consumption. Therefore, they were virtually assured of contributing to the capital formation necessary to foster industrialization. Being astute men, they invested wisely.

This book charts no new course, but it serves to enlarge the historical portrait of British industrialization. Several shortcomings exist, none of which are, however, the fault of the author. First, the work is a reprint of Pratt's doctoral dissertation; it reads, of course, like a dissertation and by now is a bit dated for the last decade has continued to witness much additional study of the Industrial Revolution. The book is not indexed, a problem for the scholar who is in search of some specific item that this work may seem to hold. Having stated this, I must also acknowledge that much significant historical material is gathered and synthesized in the process by which historians are trained. Pratt should be congratulated on having produced a solid, well-constructed study of a small but significant component of industrial development.

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ANGELA V. JOHN, editor. *Unequal Opportunities: Women's Employment in England, 1800–1918*. New York: Basil Blackwell. 1986. Pp. xiii, 297. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$14.95.

In her preface Angela V. John notes that this book and its companion volume, Jane Lewis's *Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850–1940* (1984), aim to present "some of the major issues facing women over a period of 150 years" (p. xii). The nine essays presented here certainly accomplish this task with respect to women's work outside the home, and therein lies the major strength of the book. Although none of the essays advance original theses and some are weak in analysis or poorly written, each concentrates on a particular set of issues in women's labor history and concludes with a bibliographic note directing the reader to relevant secondary sources. In all, the book appears quite useful for introducing students to current scholarship in the field, eliciting discussion concerning that scholarship, and directing students toward research topics.

The first three essays discuss the creation and maintenance of gender divisions in the work place. The essays show that Ivy Pinchbeck erred when she asserted that the Industrial Revolution liberated women. It may have increased the quantity of positions available to them but not the quality. Women were relegated to jobs requiring little skill and offering little pay on the grounds that their sex suited them for little else. Low skilled, poorly paid jobs in preindustrial times had been allocated on the same premise.

The next series of three essays focuses on whether the jobs created by the Industrial Revolution, regardless of their quality, fostered a spirit of independence among the women who held them. The consensus is they did. Edward Higgs's essay shows that women considered factory work, even when poorly paid, a better alternative to domestic service, which often restricted personal freedom. Meta Zimneck's lively piece on female clerical workers demonstrates their assertiveness and pride in their jobs. Finally, Gill Burke's contribution describes the manner in which women working in the Cornish mining industry expressed their independence in dress, speech, and behavior until the collapse of the industry changed their lives.

The final three essays are the most provocative because each offers a contradictory explanation for the failures and successes of trade unionism among female workers. Joanna Bornat blames male trade union leaders for paternalistic attitudes that dampened female workers' enthusiasm for organization. Deborah Thom argues that the middle-class ladies who attempted to organize women were as out of touch with the interests of the female rank and file

as were male union leaders. Ellen Mappen, however, praises the efforts at organization of such social feminists, as she calls them.

In her introduction John observes that watersheds in history such as industrialization and world war have not affected the fundamental inequalities of women's labor. Although such a comment may lack originality, it bears repeating because it expresses a fact too often ignored by labor historians. This book, therefore, may not break new ground, but it certainly contributes to our understanding of the problems faced by working women in the nineteenth century.

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MAURICE COWLING. *Religion and Public Doctrine in Modern England*. Volume 2, *Assaults*. (Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. xxvii, 375. \$49.50.

Maurice Cowling has written a spirited, difficult, and puzzlingly disappointing book that stands as the second of three projected volumes on the topic boldly announced in the title. Each volume is supposedly intended to have an independent existence, but issues that might well have been discussed in the present volume are announced as to be addressed in the next or as having been covered in the first. More important, however, the author does not adequately explain what he means by either religion or public doctrine. The apparent topic is the disintegration of the religious or, more specifically, Christian theological beliefs of the governing and educated elites in Britain since the demise of the confessional state between 1828 and 1832. This topic is important and has, of course, been addressed by a number of historians. Cowling has read quite widely in the printed primary materials. His views are always sprightly, if somewhat idiosyncratic. Yet Cowling adds little to the previous discussion except for the broad sweep of his work, which carries the subject through the middle of the twentieth century, and his recognition that high Anglican and Roman Catholic writers deserve major consideration.

The volume contains longish vignettes of John Henry Newman, John Keble, John Ruskin, Herbert Spencer, William Gladstone, Henry Manning, Henry Liddon, E. B. Pusey, Henry Mansel, G. H. Lewes, T. H. Huxley, Gilbert Murray, H. G. Wells, G. B. Shaw, Havelock Ellis, D. H. Lawrence, Bertrand Russell, G. K. Chesterton, Christopher Dawson, and Frederick Copleston. Cowling divides his vast cast into three groups: those who sought to preserve the faith and defeat the enemies of Christianity in the immediate wake of the attack on the



confessional state, those who wished to suppress Christianity in the name of progress, science, or ethical earnestness, and those who in the twentieth century, primarily Roman Catholics, attempted to respond to the late Victorian and Edwardian assault. Cowling's most interesting and important remarks appear in his treatment of the defenders of the faith, whom he justly rescues from the condescension of secular posterity. The point he wishes to argue—that the decline of Anglican Christianity among the English literate classes represents a genuine spiritual, cultural, and civic loss—is plausible, if not popular, but his excessively polemical mode of presentation, lacking both clear evidence and systematic argument, will cast doubt on it. J. C. D. Clarke demonstrates that a similar argument for the cultural centrality of Anglicanism may be made cogently in his recent, scintillating *English Society, 1688–1832* (1985) published in the same series as Cowling's volume.

Whatever else Cowling's book may be, it is not really history. All changes in English religious thought and ecclesiastical life are taken for granted as unproblematical and requiring no real explanation. The role of Nonconformity is virtually ignored as are the concrete social, political, and religious circumstances that gave rise to the essays, sermons, and books he considers. Cowling confesses, "A work of this sort ignores subtleties and coerces the intention of the things it discusses. It puts a straightjacket on literature and refuses to linger over its complications. It insists on its own interpretation and depends for its power on the plausibility of imposing it on the thinkers whose significance it is designed to illuminate" (p. xvi). Consequently, the reader repeatedly encounters broad assertions and incisive insights supported with neither substantial argument nor adequate documentation. For example, the reader is told that Richard Hurrell Froude "did not necessarily mean every thing he wrote or said" (p. 9). But then the reader is not precisely informed of which parts of his works Froude did mean and which he did not. Cowling thus emerges as the master of the assertion, who, in a book about the decline of faith, paradoxically makes heavy demands on the faith and, not infrequently, the patience of his reader.

FRANK M. TURNER  
Yale University

M. J. DAUNTON. *Royal Mail: The Post Office since 1840*. Foreword by ASA BRIGGS. Dover, N.H.: Athlone. 1985. Pp. xviii, 388. \$36.50.

Contemporary criticism of the British Post Office is both violent and varied. Critics claim that the service is hampered by ancient management and union

traditions, technological inefficiency, an inability to meet delivery targets, and financial irresponsibility. In 1974–75 the annual loss of the post office peaked at over 100 million pounds. Questions remain. How far are such shortfalls those of the British economy at large? To what extent are such problems shared by all public instrumentalities? Are these characteristics common to all large labor-intensive organizations, especially to those employing a large share of temporary workers, or are such faults peculiar to the British Post Office? M. J. Daunton's detailed book helps answer these questions. By far the greatest portion of the text is devoted to the nineteenth century and to detailed accounts of personalities and institutional peculiarities. Daunton feels most at home with the nineteenth century and with the official and archival materials of the institution itself. His precise excavations have produced a volume that effectively replaces Howard Robinson's official history of 1953, although he has neglected the opportunity to provide a detailed account of the years since that book was published.

Rowland Hill's starting point was a liberal attack on the efficiency, complexity, and conservatism of the then-existing postal monopoly. Eventually, this relative outsider propounded his famous formula: within the nation, at least, postal charges should not vary with distance. The position of the egotistical, embattled, dynamic, and persuasive Hill after his appointment in 1839 is well drawn and accompanied by an astute judgment of his direct successes and his later influence. The period from 1840 to 1914 witnessed a continuous extension of postal services, from the simple internal letter to parcel and book services, postal savings, financial services, telecommunications, insurance, and the complexities of overseas mailing. In covering this expansion, Daunton illustrates the difference between monopolized service (for example, the one-penny rate on internal letters lasted to 1918) and the confused competition involved with the other services.

A strength of Daunton's volume is the repeated reference to the tension between the post office as a business (whose performance may be judged in terms of efficiency) and as a public service (judged in terms of the provision of essential social benefits and services). From Daunton's account the post office never resolved the conflict between its tasks of raising revenue for the exchequer and providing a service. Should charges and contracts for overseas mail reflect the market demand for the service, or should they be used to subsidize the political economy of the British empire? In recent years should the labor-intensity of the post office be maintained as part of employment policy, or should technology be improved as part of anti-inflationary policy? Full employment during 1945–70 coincided with the "Tomlin formula," which set pay throughout the

civil service according to general economic trends. Without technological change the post office was simply trapped into raising the postal rate. Such conflicts over purpose inform much of the narrative of Dauntton's thorough book.

IAN INKSTER  
University of New South Wales

MALCOLM HARDMAN. *Ruskin and Bradford: An Experiment in Victorian Cultural History*. Dover, N.H.: Manchester University Press. 1986. Pp. viii, 408. \$37.50.

In 1859 and 1864 John Ruskin delivered lectures in Bradford on art, nature, and industry and, as a result, became acquainted with many Bradford community leaders. Malcolm Hardman uses this fact as the pivotal point in his "cultural history." By exploring this relationship, he attempts to bring together an archetypical nineteenth-century industrial city and a Victorian intellectual leader into a synthesis of environmental and cultural forces. Hardman examines a variety of interactions at many levels: the relationships between theory and implemented reform and between individuals and environment; the impact of Ruskin's thinking on various individuals and groups in Bradford and their impact on his thinking; the integration of art, nature, and industry.

This is not a comfortable book for the historian. Hardman is a specialist in English and comparative literature, and, despite the subtitle, his book adheres more closely to the paradigms and practices of literary criticism than to those of history. Much of the book is obscure to the historian or to any nonspecialist in Ruskinian arcana, and it often wanders into lengthy presentations of details of the lives of minor local characters whose connection to the main theme, other than that they once met Ruskin, is unclear. Its contribution to urban history is its attempt to set the development of the city within the framework and vocabulary of literature and aesthetics. Here Bradford appears as a metaphor, the symbol of the actual worst and potential best in the nineteenth-century industrial city—the changing stage on which a large cast of characters play out their sometimes ambiguous roles. It is an interesting approach to literature, culture, environment, and personality but might have more value to the student of literature than of history.

JANET ROEBUCK  
University of New Mexico

ALAN CRAWFORD. *C. R. Ashbee; Architect, Designer, and Romantic Socialist*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1985. Pp. 499. \$45.00.

Like John Ruskin and William Morris, C. R. Ashbee demands a biographer with a wide range of interests, sympathy, and expertise. He has found one in Alan Crawford, who has written an exemplary critical biography of this major figure in the Arts and Crafts movement. Ashbee offers much "of interest to the historian of architecture and of design, of social reform, technical education, homosexuality, conservation, the folksong revival, University Extension, 'Back to the Land,' pacifism, town planning, Jerusalem under the British Mandate and America seen through British eyes" (p. 427), and he also has much to offer to students of Carlyle, Ruskin, and Arnold and to all those concerned with the influence and afterlife of high Victorianism.

Crawford's critical biography divides into three sections, the first of which contains eight chapters tracing Ashbee's life. The six chapters of the following section treat in turn his contributions to design, architecture, furniture and interior decoration, metalwork, jewelry, and fine printing. The final section's two chapters sum up his reputation and influence. Valuable appendixes list Ashbee's writings and architectural projects, items printed at his Essex House Press, and public collections containing his work. This lavishly illustrated volume exemplifies the fine design and production standards that characterize Yale's London-based publications on British art.

One of the greatest strengths of this well-written biography lies in its skillful use of manuscript materials, and another lies in its many thumbnail portraits and background sketches. Whether relating him to Carlyle and Ruskin, life at Cambridge, late Victorian homosexuality, typography, design in America, or any number of other topics crucial to an understanding of Ashbee's career, Crawford's incisive, well-informed prose provides background needed to understand Ashbee's life in its many contexts. He sympathizes with his subject, and the chapters that gracefully blend biography with cultural and political history have an energy and a satisfying fullness not present in the drier, more summary chapters on Ashbee's contributions to individual arts—perhaps because these contributions are not as impressive as the man himself.

Although he wrote a number of books, he was not a great writer as were Morris and Ruskin, and, although he designed and built some influential structures, he never produced the quantity of buildings of those with larger reputations. Nonetheless, his extraordinary range of interests and activities does not seem to have limited his achievements in any one particular art or enterprise, and, as Crawford shows, Ashbee repeatedly picked up and then dropped various interests after carrying them as far as he could. The financial failure of Ashbee and his Guild of Handicraft when equally dedicated rivals

were prospering seems particularly significant. Crawford relates his bitterness at the success of Liberty and other firms, which supposedly cluttered the market with inferior, imitative work. But was the work of Ashbee and his Guild of Handicraft much superior? Looking at Adrian J. Tilbrook's and Gordon House's *Designs of Archibald Knox for Liberty & Co.* (1976), I was struck by the sheer range, abundance, and quality of Knox's work. In other words, the market may have acted justly. Certainly, Ashbee's fate as a jewelry designer parallels that as a town planner, furniture designer, social reformer, typographer, and architectural preservationist: he made major contributions, inspired others, and left his mark on America and Europe, but this honorable heir of Ruskin and Morris who cared about the conditions of labor neither dominated, nor achieved greatness in, any single field.

GEORGE P. LANDOW  
Brown University

THOMAS KLEINKNECHT. *Imperiale und internationale Ordnung: Eine Untersuchung zum anglo-amerikanischen Gelehrtenliberalismus am Beispiel von James Bryce 1838–1922*. (Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, number 25.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1985. Pp. 277. DM 72.

In 1863 A. V. Dicey perceptively characterized his twenty-five-year-old friend James Bryce: "He stirs us all up, rushes about like a shepherd's dog, collects his friends, makes us meet, leads us into plans and adventures and keeps everything going. His life, I predict, will be one of great and deserved success." Bryce's energies, transferred to political, academic, and literary affairs, continued to "keep everything going" for another sixty years and added three major works (*The Holy Roman Empire* [1864], *The American Commonwealth* [1889], and *Modern Democracies* [1921]) to a respectable, if not outstanding, ministerial career and a distinguished and influential stint as British ambassador in Washington. Despite the repetition of dismissive judgments made by contemporaries such as Balfour or Chamberlain, whose reputation is not these days what it once was, Bryce's good, gray reputation has lasted. It will be strengthened by Thomas Kleinknecht's study of the historical foundations of Bryce's political thought.

Bryce was the Huxley rather than the Darwin of political science—the provider of case law, the organizer of learned journals, the adviser of governments. His achievements tended to be the result of cooperative rather than individual effort, yet it was a cooperation in which his reliability, honesty, and eye for the original idea were of crucial importance. University life and parliamentary convention would both have been somewhat less adaptable and resil-

ient without his input, and one dramatic feature of contemporary British life would have been mercifully absent had the advice of this Ulster-Protestant advocate of Home Rule been taken.

The importance of Kleinknecht's monograph lies in its exploration of a paradox at the heart of the political philosophy of an otherwise straightforward man: Bryce, like most of his contemporaries, was deeply committed to the Mazzinian ideal of democratic nationalism; at the same time he was fascinated by the problem of supranational authority, from his early work on the Holy Roman Empire to his last crusade on behalf of the League of Nations. After detailing the political culture in which Bryce operated and showing a formidable familiarity with the huge secondary literature on Victorian intellectual politics, Kleinknecht discusses in three chapters the ideology of *The Holy Roman Empire*, *The American Commonwealth*, and Bryce's apparently ambiguous engagement with imperial issues in the 1880s and 1890s.

Kleinknecht thus illuminates an aside in H. A. L. Fisher's biography that has always seemed puzzling: "The fact most surprising to the student of his life is the avowal that he had ever entertained the thought that he might conceivably go over to the Catholic Communion" (*James Bryce*, [1927] Vol. 1, p. 74). He also shows that the ideal of moral order, which he believed medieval Christendom had acquired through the fusion of Christian belief and Roman law, was central to Bryce's philosophy. Kleinknecht has sifted through Bryce's somewhat abstruse correspondence with his fellow medievalist E. A. Freeman to locate his "Ghibelline feelings"—for an international ethos that could also embrace republican institutions—as the linkage between the Holy Roman Empire and "Anglo-Saxon" notions of popular government. He argues persuasively that this convention of "public opinion," expressed in the quasi-religious ideal of the "commonwealth," purchased consent for federalism in the United States and, granted an adequate level of statesmanship, could even have provided the means of articulating collaboration between different types of constitution.

This thoroughly researched work is equally perceptive on Bryce's relation to the Scottish intellectual tradition and the rationale behind his later wholehearted support of Gladstone. Both men were, as J. L. Hammond pointed out in Gladstone's case, markedly un-English in the principles of their political thought, and such a lucid exposition of the content and style of liberal internationalism, long overdue, is to be welcomed now that issues of international coexistence, with Ireland and with the European Economic Community, have again etched themselves on the British political agenda.

CHRISTOPHER HARVIE  
University of Tübingen

PAUL JOHNSON. *Saving and Spending: The Working-Class Economy in Britain, 1870–1939*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1985. Pp. 250. \$39.95.

One of the least researched aspects of working-class social history is how people coped with the economic uncertainties that confronted them daily—that complex and presumably exhausting process of “getting by.” Our knowledge of the subject derives partly from the life histories of individuals, consisting mostly of oral testimony but also of autobiographical writings. It also comes from the history of institutions created to ease the financial uncertainties of working-class families—the friendly societies, consumer cooperatives, insurance companies and clubs, and the rest. Paul Johnson’s study pulls together contemporary and historical research to paint a picture of one aspect of this network: the patterns of saving and borrowing that were so fundamental to people’s social existence and yet so bemused outside observers.

Johnson is not bemused, and he usefully surveys death insurance, friendly societies, cash saving, cooperative societies, and the ubiquitous resort to shopkeeper’s credit and the pawnbroker. If he does not take us far beyond the familiar, the sustained discussion of these subjects is welcome. It is not all familiar—he tells us much about the social composition of savings bank deposits and depositors and about the conflict in the cooperative movement between the ideals of the leaders and the aspirations of members primarily concerned with the dividend that became critical to the annual cycle of family finance. He indicates how much the aftermath of the liberal welfare provisions confounded the fears of those who had argued that public assistance would inhibit the will to save. Johnson’s most important intention is to stress the distinctive character of working-class saving, which was directed to specific ends such as subscriptions for insurance, the purchase of a specific item, or a holiday. The contrast with middle-class saving patterns made outside observers reluctant to see much of this as thrift. Middle-class saving was essentially the accumulation of an unspent surplus. Lacking such a surplus, working-class families had to make savings an item of regular expenditure—hence the importance of clubs and contract saving, and hence the purchase of expensive items that could be pawned and resold when necessary.

Johnson’s examination of these themes is valuable, yet I finished his book with a sense of disappointment. The book lacks systematic exploration and only occasionally penetrates beyond the conclusions of existing research in ways that change our understanding. This results in part from the shortage of data, which presumably explains the frequent

descent into long discussions of institutions—such as those on cooperatives, savings banks, and pawnbroking—that leave the working-class users of the services somewhat out of sight. Above all, though, my disappointment is that Johnson fails to take us inside the working-class economy of his title. He provides little new insight into—or systematic examination of—the function of the working-class household economy or the organization of that economy, especially over the life cycle. We are told, in effect, far too little about income and expenditure within that household economy. Johnson has provided, however, a valuable survey of patterns of saving and borrowing.

GEOFFREY CROSSICK  
*University of Essex*

SHEILA FLETCHER. *Women First: The Female Tradition in English Physical Education, 1880–1980*. Dover, N.H.: Athlone. 1984. Pp. 194. \$36.50.

SHEILA R. HERSTEIN. *A Mid-Victorian Feminist, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1985. Pp. xiv, 205.

The two studies examined in this review deal with British women’s history and concentrate, one wholly and the other in part, on educational themes. But they also have another essential commonality. They focus on women’s efforts to build a separate vision and achieve a gender exclusivity in determining patterns of societal development and leadership. Given this stance, Sheila Fletcher has called the other stream of women’s history the story of women who embraced the “me too” ideology, which she defines as the campaign to gain access to the male-dominated mainstream educational world and adapt it, in limited ways, to women’s needs.

Sheila R. Herstein has written a perceptive and thorough study of the life and career of Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, an early leader of the British feminist movement who had close ties to the so-called Langham Place circle that included Bessie Rayner Parkes, Emily Davis, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, and Jessie Boucherett. Bodichon was both a herald and gadfly to the women’s movement in the years 1850–75. Her interests, writings, and work covered a spectrum of feminist causes, legal reform and equality, adequate employment opportunities, the franchise, and education. She brought dedicated service and a sense of urgency to those causes in their seminal years. She did not have the personality to create the political coalitions or make the compromises necessary to a piecemeal approach to goals that were shaped in major ways by males. In writing of the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857, which was brought about by a coalition of male and female reformers, Herstein



writes that "all feminist activity for the next half century was an extension of that first cooperative effort while every effort by women on their own behalf stemmed from Barbara Smith's expressed conviction that women when organized and active could affect their own destiny" (p. 94).

Ideologically, Bodichon was an heir of Mary Wollstonecraft, who fearlessly sought social equality for women and rejected social convention in her private life. Fascinating, unconventional life patterns for a Victorian woman of the genteel class also enveloped Bodichon: illegitimacy that was almost flaunted before polite society by a devoted intellectual father, an emotionally devastating affair with a selfish married womanizer who wished to establish a ménage in the manner of her dear friend, George Eliot, and finally a nontypical but apparently satisfying marriage with a French Algerian physician, Eugene Bodichon, whom she visited a few months each year in North Africa. Her personal life forms an interesting psychological background to her public life.

A stroke suffered at the age of fifty tragically cut short Bodichon's work with Davis in the establishment of Girton College. Although Bodichon partially recovered, the remaining thirteen years of her life were carried on as a semi-invalid.

Fletcher traces the rise of the physical education movement in Britain under female auspices and, indeed, female domination of the field of gymnastic education. With clarity and conciseness she deals with the ideological, institutional, and associational impact of women in that field from 1880 until the post-World War II era. Full treatment is accorded Madame Bergman Österberg, a Swedish émigré who set down the educational and associational foundation of the Swedish Ling method, which dominated the field in Britain for more than three generations.

Although Fletcher discusses the several women's physical education colleges, she focuses on Bedford College. Indeed the volume is in large part a study of that college. In an insightful narrative she presents the development of Bedford by Margaret Stansfeld, who headed it until the World War II era. Fletcher scrutinizes intramural academic threads, the spirit of missionary purposefulness of the student body, and the rise of the Laban dance movement, which eclipsed the entrenched Ling system.

Fletcher points out a vital difference in spirit between the leaders of the British women's physical education movement in its halcyon years and the educational vision of feminist leaders in the current generation. She maintains that the current generation of feminists have a rapport with Virginia Woolf's ideal women's college that rejected male values, was nonhierarchical and noncompetitive, and sought to change rather than replicate the

existent structure of society. Fletcher observes that it would be hard to find a community less in tune with the aforementioned values than that of the female physical educational training colleges. They were faithful reproductions of the structure of Victorian society and exemplified the spirit of autocracy as long as any institution in Britain. The demise of the independent female physical education college was brought on by the colonization of physical education by the male-dominated world of mainstream higher education and the post-World War II retrenchment of the professional educational system justified by public authorities on the basis of economic necessity and demographics. The study effectively weaves together an analysis of a facet of women's education, a history of Bedford College, and the British social milieu of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

EDWARD W. ELLSWORTH  
*Wheelock College*

ARNOLD P. KAMINSKY. *The India Office, 1880-1910*. (Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies, number 20.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1986. Pp. xv, 294. \$49.95.

In this meticulously researched study Arnold P. Kaminsky treats us to an intimate, and informed, view of the working of the India Office in London during the heyday of Britain's Raj. The agency responsible for the supervision of the Indian Government in Calcutta, the India Office has so far received little historical attention. Administrative historians have preferred to concentrate on the bureaucracies more directly in charge of policy formation, whether at home, such as the Treasury, Foreign Office, and War Office, or in India itself, where the viceroy and the Indian civil service have claimed substantial scholarly attention. Determined to rectify this perceived "imbalance," Kaminsky insists that the Home Government, headed by the secretary of state for India, especially between 1880 and 1914, "was intimately involved in the formation of Indian and Imperial policy" (p. 3).

The volume focuses on the structures through which power was exercised, together with the flow of paper that linked them and the personalities that dominated them, above all the looming figure of Sir Arthur Godley, the permanent undersecretary from 1883 to 1909. The first chapters provide an extraordinarily detailed account of the composition of the bureaucracy of the India Office, from the retired civil servants who formed the Council of India down to the junior clerks and hall porters. Subsequent chapters delineate the relations between the India Office and the other agencies of the British government. The volume concludes with a



fascinating discussion of the way the India Office handled special interest lobbies, especially the Congress party and its English allies, and kept them effectively at bay.

Throughout, Kaminsky argues that the bureaucrats of the India Office established a predominance over the viceroys in India, who were never "as independent or autocratic" as often appeared (p. 151). By contrast the India Office, its finances kept off the British estimates, exercised a great deal of autonomy and told even Parliament only what it wanted its critics to know. At the heart of this process was Godley, whose long tenure gave him an unrivaled control over the levers of power, which he manipulated to the India Office's advantage. Not surprisingly, the India Office established a supremacy of sorts over the Indian Government and the council played a major role in the formulation of long-term policy, for the office was constitutionally charged to perform precisely this function.

Most striking, however, in Kaminsky's account of Godley's India Office is the lack of a commitment to anything other than merely "sustaining" British rule in India. Godley's predecessor of fifty years before, James Mill, who, as examiner in the East India Company's London office, occupied a similar position, shaped policy in the light of a distinctive ideology and set out to implement that policy in India. His critical role in India's governance formed the centerpiece of Eric Stokes's stimulating *The English Utilitarians and India* (1959). Kaminsky's study reveals no such ideological commitment but only tussles for supremacy in an environment dominated by bureaucratic self-interest. The late Victorian India Office may deservedly have remained neglected for so long.

THOMAS R. METCALF  
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Berkeley

VICTOR LOWE. *Alfred North Whitehead: The Man and His Work*. Volume 1, 1861–1910. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1985. Pp. xi, 351. \$27.50.

"How can the life of so good a man be interesting?" asks Victor Lowe, anticipating a suspicion that the life of Alfred North Whitehead provides problematical grist for the biographer's mill (p. 3). Whitehead was a decent, reticent, and intensely private man whose life was his work and whose work was mathematically abstruse and philosophically abstract. He seldom wrote letters, kept no diaries, and left no manuscript papers that might have shed new and intriguing light on an otherwise colorless biographical past. Yet, to judge by the evidence of this first installment of a projected two-volume intellectual biography, Lowe has handsomely succeeded in

bringing Whitehead's scholarly and personal life to life. He has done so by joining an infectious enthusiasm for his subject to an enterprising garnering of apposite secondary sources. Lowe's narrative has benefited as well from the author's personal acquaintance with and admiration of Whitehead, who was his teacher, and from the encouragement of Whitehead's children.

In the course of a long life that ended in 1947, Whitehead was an accomplished mathematician before he gained eventual fame as a philosopher. The predominantly mathematical phase falls conveniently into the formative and middle years he spent in his native England; the philosophical reputation belongs more to the period after 1924, when, at the age of sixty-three, Whitehead took up a professorship in philosophy at Harvard. In the volume under review Lowe tells the story of the first of these two broad phases of Whitehead's life, beginning with his mid-Victorian birth in 1861 into a family of solidly Kentish clerical stock and culminating in his collaboration with Bertrand Russell on the preparation of the monumental *Principia Mathematica* during the first decade of this century. Already as a schoolboy at Sherborne, Whitehead had shown a marked aptitude for mathematics, and this aptitude was further displayed during his undergraduate years at Cambridge, where he was subsequently fellow and lecturer in mathematics at Trinity College. The volume closes with Whitehead's resignation of his Cambridge lectureship in 1910 and his move to the University of London. His biographer's judgment of Whitehead's accomplishments during this mathematical phase of his career is that he was a first-rate mathematician, though a rather strange and plodding one, rather than a mathematical genius (p. 153).

The reader of Lowe's book will find good value in his judicious assessment of the complementary gifts brought by Whitehead and Russell to their famous joint work. Whereas Whitehead would be seized by an idea and then grope for the best words to express it, Russell admitted that he thought entirely in words; if Whitehead was the more patient and thorough of the two, Russell brought to their work masterly powers of clear expression with which to simplify his coauthor's sometimes needlessly complicated drafts. Whitehead once said to Russell: "You think the world is what it looks like in fine weather at noon day; I think it is what it seems like in the early morning when one first wakes from deep sleep" (p. 223). In their joint exploration in the *Principia* of the principles of mathematics, Whitehead's and Russell's mathematical and philosophical skills were unusually well matched. But Lowe doubts that the two could have collaborated on any subject other than the one they did. Their fundamental philo-

sophical and sociological points of view were too divergent.

Lowe provides a vivid, if unflattering portrait of Whitehead's unintellectual and self-dramatizing wife, Evelyn. A disapproving Cambridge contemporary, on hearing the news of Whitehead's marriage to her, is said to have exclaimed: "Whitehead has made a great mistake. He has married out of his tripos" (p. 177). Evelyn's periodic, lifelong attacks of pseudoangina, Lowe suggests, served as a means of drawing the attention of an often-distracted Alfred, and as a vent for her passionate, hysterical nature. For a time, the Whiteheads and the Russells shared the same Cambridge house; but Russell, whose first marriage to Alys was faltering, created an awkward situation by falling in love with Evelyn. This intolerable state of affairs was alleviated when the Russells, though increasingly miserable in each other's company, moved to Bagley Wood, outside Oxford, thus producing the intellectual oddity, as Lowe observes, that "the greater part of the collaboration on *Principia Mathematica*, by two men who were pure Cantabrigians, was carried on by mail" (p. 249).

One looks forward to the appearance of volume two of this engaging intellectual biography, the first volume of which concludes with a useful chronological bibliography of everything written by Whitehead and published in his lifetime.

GEORGE FEAVER  
University of British Columbia

ANTHONY ALDGE and JEFFREY RICHARDS. *Britain Can Take It: The British Cinema in the Second World War*. New York: Basil Blackwell. 1986. Pp. 312.

Given the amount of significant research that has lent credence to the subject in recent years, there should be little doubt that motion pictures and other forms of popular culture can be used as vital indices to an understanding of aspects of social and cultural history. Yet many historians have not made an extensive use of these sources. This is particularly true in the case of movies. One of the explanations is that a fairly wide gulf separates those interested in "interpreting" films from those who wish to use films as sources for teaching history. The pioneering efforts of scholars such as John O'Connor in his book of contributed essays *American History/American Film* (1979) are as yet not widely appreciated. Much of the fault can be laid at the doorstep of those primarily interested in film scholarship, because the intense interest in approaches to interpretation, using a bewildering variety of largely European-based and often obscure theories has rightly created confusion for those seeking models of explanation based on solid historical research. The absence of such studies has slowed down the momentum of the

film-history movement, but the publication of this volume by Anthony Aldgate and Jeffrey Richards contributes to the rectification of the problem.

Both Aldgate and Richards have been prolific scholars in the field of film and history, and this joint effort is the result of many years of thinking about the interaction between social and cultural forces (historical "facts") and the resulting product viewed on the motion picture screen. Aldgate has previously written on the historical role of newsreels, whereas Richards has provided a wide range of fascinating material on popular culture, including a study of the British empire as seen on film (*Visions of Yesterday*, [1973]), and the more recent *The Age of the Dream Palace: Cinema and Society in Britain, 1930-1939* (1984). The present book is limited to an examination of British cinema in World War II, but it goes far beyond the usual examination of plot in an attempt to establish the historical relevance of each film, for the authors have meticulously researched the production history and provided the social and cultural context for each of these historical documents.

Much as the British nation as a whole, British cinema realized its finest hour during World War II. Prompted by the need for popular propaganda vehicles, especially material that would appeal to the lower middle class and working class, the Ministry of Information turned to films as a means of both maintaining public morale and, equally importantly, explaining the role of the various components of the struggle against the Axis forces. Influenced to a great extent by the documentary film makers of the 1930s such as John Grierson, the result was a remarkable series of films, which successfully straddled the narrow line between blatant propaganda and escapist sentimentalizing. Eleven films are chosen for examination, ranging from working-class entertainment vehicles such as *Let George Do It* (1940) featuring George Formby, to Noel Coward's masterpiece *In Which We Serve* (1942), and ending with Anthony Asquith's popular pro-American *The Way to the Stars* (1945). The book is full of rich detail, providing the reader with a context in which to understand the resulting content seen on the screen, as well as a summary of the critical and public responses to the films (something that is often lacking in studies of this nature.)

Overall this book makes an important contribution to our understanding of how popular culture can be deliberately manipulated to serve an ideological purpose. But of equal significance is the clear model it provides historians for more work of this nature, which can only enrich our quest for historical explanation.

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GORDON DONALDSON. *Scottish Church History*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic. 1985. Pp. xii, 245. £18.75.

The publication of collected papers by distinguished scholars has become something of a major trend in recent years, and very convenient it is. The Scottish Academic Press has now made its contribution, with a volume of essays by one of the leading historians of the Scottish church—twelve already in print, and five substantially or wholly new. Gordon Donaldson is best known for his work in the early modern period, but this book begins with three articles on the early medieval church, including an essay on bishops' sees that was a pioneering work when first published in 1955. Then comes the real meat of the book, the articles on Donaldson's field of specialization, produced over the last forty years, all a tribute to extensive research, all illuminating. We now have easy access to a string of articles that are a pleasure to read or reread because of their masterly handling of a range of subjects, from the institutional—the church courts, the rights of the crown—to the personal—parish clergy, reformers, conservatives, schismatics, influential Danes, and interfering English bishops. This book thoroughly deserves its place on the bookshelves of historians, Scottish and non-Scottish. So far, so very good.

I have two reservations. First, the editing is patchy, even sloppy. Some books are cited with publication dates, some not; most articles give the date of original publication, but not all. One of Donaldson's two regional studies, of which he is visibly proud, is cited in a mysterious footnote referring to DGNHAS (p. 72); only the knowledgeable or lucky will supply the T and thus find, under abbreviations, that it is *Transactions of Dumfries and Galloway*. . . . These errors are irritating. Far more serious is the hectoring personal tone that too often creeps in. Those who (rightly) hailed his *Scottish Reformation* (1960) as a major achievement are ticked off in two astonishing pages for calling original what he says was not. One is tempted to detect false modesty here; for, whereas friends are acknowledged, "enemies"—those who venture to suggest different interpretations from the author—are fools, knaves, and worse. Thus, within two paragraphs one such scholar has his views quoted with contempt (and misrepresented) three times (pp. 93–94). That this is most marked in the two long new articles is noticeable—and very sad. Reviewing Donaldson's work is always a matter of delighting in scholarship of a high order. It is therefore deeply distressing, and indeed inexplicable, that a justly admired scholar, who has had such a dominant and respected role in opening up the study of sixteenth-

century Scotland, feels it necessary to treat some of the other workers in the field in this way.

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PATRICK J. CORISH. *The Irish Catholic Experience: A Historical Survey*. Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier. 1985. Pp. ix, 283. \$25.00.

In his history of Irish Catholicism from its fifth-century origins to 1960, Patrick J. Corish discusses the rise and decline of Celtic Christianity and the religious initiatives of the Norman invasion. Among other things civil disorder impeded pre- and post-Norman church reform. On the eve of the Reformation Catholic Ireland featured an Old English–Gaelic cultural divide and a poorly educated clergy ministering to an ignorant laity. Ireland was a community of hearty sinners and fervent repentants characterized by little connection between religion and morality.

Apathy and limited resources restricted the preaching of Protestantism, which was associated with English conquest. As a symbol of resistance to alien pressures, Catholicism had a fresh start, but Cromwellians, Williamites, and penal laws hindered the Counter Reformation. It first took hold in Old English towns and then spread to the fertile areas of Leinster and Munster.

Although the poor, largely Gaelic sections of Ireland never really entered the post-Tridentine fold until after the Famine, Corish explains increasing devotionism as more evolutionary than revolutionary. The Rosary and Stations of the Cross became popular in the eighteenth century. Church building and parish missions were evident in the early nineteenth. By Continental standards, the Irish frequently attended mass in both centuries. Following "the Great Hunger" Paul Cardinal Cullen completed the process of Romanization, but his achievements rested on earlier foundations: the Maynooth clergy and a Catholicism made more aggressive, confident, and rigid by the triumphant agitation for Catholic emancipation and its linkage of religion and nationality.

Although admitting the Catholic provincialism of posttreaty Ireland, Corish argues that the confessional state represents ethnic and religious consciousness and peasant conservatism as much as clericalism. He laments that Irish Catholicism has never developed a hard intellectual core to complement rather than conflict with Irish literary genius. Yet, he maintains that whatever humanism exists in Ireland comes out of its religious traditions and that scholars should respect and understand them.

Corish's book is a well-written, intellectually stimulating examination of the most important influence in Irish history. Conceding that religion in Ireland has always involved politics, nationality, and class, Corish insists that it also has a significance within itself. Since much research remains to be done, particularly on Gaelic aspects, he as much poses questions as provides answers. Still, Corish has the courage to offer original opinions in questionable areas. His book is intended as a challenge to future investigation. It succeeds.

LAWRENCE J. MCCAFFREY  
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VIRGINIA E. GLANDON. *Arthur Griffith and the Advanced-Nationalist Press: Ireland, 1900–1922*. (American University Studies, ninth series, History, number 2.) New York: Peter Lang, 1985. Pp. xi, 323. \$33.00.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Ireland was a country of 4.4 million people and 332 newspapers, or approximately one newspaper for every thirteen thousand men, women, and children. Virginia E. Glandon does not make comparisons of this sort with other countries, but such a ratio is surely remarkable. The abundance of newspapers was partly the product of compulsory schooling and a high and climbing literacy rate (47 percent in 1851; 88 percent in 1911). It was also a reflection of the political and intellectual ferment of nationalist Ireland, where spent religious and agrarian grievances surrendered their domination of popular politics to cultural nationalism. The advanced-nationalist journals, with whose outpourings Glandon is primarily concerned, "promoted a romanticised version of Irish history and culture in an effort to win what some have called a psychological version of home rule" (p. vii). Not coincidentally, Arthur Griffith, the first head of the provisional government that brought the Irish Free State into existence in 1922, came to national politics only during the last five years of his life, after a lifetime in journalism. He was, wrote Eoin MacNeill, an activist in the Gaelic League, "the teacher of a generation." Ironically, Griffith's sudden death in August 1922 at the age of fifty was probably hastened by the strain of attempting to establish a government in the midst of a bitter civil war against many of his old associates and pupils. Republican journals, opposed to the Anglo-Irish Treaty that he was implementing, yet similar in many ways to the journals with which he had been associated for so long, denounced him for "his great error and sin against the nation" (p. 233).

Glandon's study of Griffith and the advanced nationalist press is based on a wide range of primary

research in Ireland, including privately held papers and interviews with Griffith's surviving contemporaries. It contains a most valuable fifty-page appendix listing all known Irish newspapers that circulated during the period, giving publication data and political affiliation, and making some attempt to list proprietors, editors, and so on. Indeed, the book will be used as a reference tool by many scholars seeking particular details of the press of the period. The biographical aspect of the book is less original. The analysis is limited, and the conclusion that Griffith "asked the Irish to work together—despite creed or station—for what he saw as the ultimate good of all. In this respect he was far ahead of his time" descends to a level of blandness that fortunately does not characterize the work as a whole (p. 238). A general analysis of the nationalist press during the same period, focusing on the transition from "constitutional" to "advanced" nationalism, might have been a more suitable framework for the study.

The presentation is clear and scholarly, with thorough and helpful footnotes. The excellent bibliography of primary and secondary sources is marred only by the absence of any book published after 1978. On page 248 "onus" should read "animus." A more serious deficiency is the absence of an index.

A. C. HEPBURN  
University of Ulster

GRAHAM S. WALKER. *The Politics of Frustration: Harry Midgley and the Failure of Labour in Northern Ireland*. Dover, N.H.: Manchester University Press, 1985. Pp. 241. \$30.00.

Labor historians, political scientists, and others interested in the unique pattern of sectarian politics in Northern Ireland should benefit from Graham S. Walker's study of the career of Harry Midgley. Midgley, a controversial politician, rose from the obscurity of a working-class North Belfast home to become a cabinet minister in Northern Ireland's government before his death in 1957.

Drawing on private and public papers, personal interviews, and newspapers, Walker traces Midgley's fruitless fight to break the sectarian pattern of Northern Ireland's politics, both as leader of the Northern Ireland Labour party and as founder, in 1942, of the Commonwealth Labour party. Walker shows how Midgley, disillusioned by the many divisions within labor's ranks and by lack of support for his Commonwealth Labour party, took the final shift in his political allegiance in 1947. He then joined the majority Unionist party and later the Orange Order, which he saw as the only vehicles through which he might win high public office and thus accomplish something for the working class.



Walker addresses two subjects that often get in each other's way, despite their interrelatedness; first, Midgley's tortuous career and, secondly, labor's failure as a political force in Northern Ireland. He makes clear why labor, with its divided ranks, has failed to find a constructive role in a society that inhibits public collaboration across sectarian and nationalist lines. The conflict between Midgley's idealism and his staunch anti-Catholicism, which was public knowledge from the early 1930s, is less clear. One wonders if his personal ambition and anti-Catholic prejudice were not at times stronger motives than his idealistic belief in labor's cause.

When he won high public office, Midgley emerged as a statesman. As Unionist minister of education between 1949 and 1957, he made his most lasting contribution to the people of Northern Ireland. Although he had been the most vocal critic of the government's balanced position on funding for voluntary schools, most of which were Catholic, he held his anti-Catholic views in check and implemented the government's directives impartially.

Through Midgley's strenuous efforts, much-needed schools were built, a new system of secondary education emerged, with the leaving age raised to fifteen, and adult education was expanded. Northern Ireland's reformed educational system thus stands as Midgley's monument. He left labor an important legacy also through his inspiration of Gerry Fitt, who continues to champion labor's cause in Northern Ireland—facing many of the timeworn frustrations that had so vexed Midgley.

Walker's work is a valuable addition to the literature on labor parties and leaders in Northern Ireland. To expand on Walker's thesis, the book would benefit from a formal preface placing Midgley and Northern Irish labor in the context of his times.

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OLIVIER BERNIER. *Louis the Beloved: The Life of Louis XV*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1984. Pp. xi, 272. £16.95.

"A long-maligned king" (p. x) is how Olivier Bernier describes Louis XV, king of France from 1715 to 1774. Indeed, historians have depicted this ruler as one of the weakest of the Bourbons, a do-nothing king who left affairs of state to his ministers while indulging his hobbies of hunting and womanizing. This is a false image, Bernier insists, and he sets out to demonstrate his thesis in this biography, which consists of ten well-written chapters covering the principal events of the reign.

The author treats diplomatic, military, political, and religious affairs with obvious competence. He is

an expert on the decorative arts. But the main theme of the book is the person of Louis XV and his relations with his ministers, mistresses, and family. On every occasion the king is presented in a favorable light. The sources indicated in notes and bibliography are well-known journals, letters, and memoirs, the same sources used by historians, such as G. P. Gooch, who have created the image of Louis XV that Bernier is contesting. The notes in Bernier's biography indicate he has used manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale, but he does not describe them except by classification number.

From these sources Bernier portrays a king who worked hard at his craft, much as Louis XIV did. He was a kindly person, affectionate to his children and grandchildren, intelligent, well-versed in mathematics and the natural sciences—a good man, really. Bernier attributes the false image of Louis XV to the memoirs of disgraced ministers and thwarted courtiers and to the scandalous pamphlets and *chansons* that victimized many another prominent personage of that day.

The difficulty one has with this biography is to see how all those virtues, which are more common than kingly, make Louis XV "one of the great statesman of the ancien régime," as the author claims (p. xi). His weaknesses are disclosed frankly by Bernier, and they are serious. This king, who was the "handsomest man in France," was so shy in public that he could not bring himself to utter the words expected of him on ceremonial occasions. Worse was his distrust of his own judgment and consequent dependence on others for important decisions. This lasted most of his reign. Only in 1770, according to Bernier, at the time of the crushing of the opposition of the Parlement of Paris, did Louis XV finally assert himself and become master of his government—rather late for a sovereign who came of age over forty years before.

The most scandalous consequence of the king's dependence on others was the unprecedented role in the state given to the declared mistresses. Ministers rose and fell according to their whims. Not surprisingly, this behavior gravely undermined the prestige of the monarchy. Others besides the magistrates of the sovereign courts came to regard the institution of absolutism as no longer tenable.

ROBERT D. HARRIS  
University of Idaho

MONIQUE CUBELLS. *La Provence des Lumières: Les parlementaires d'Aix au 18<sup>ème</sup> siècle*. Foreword by MICHEL VOVELLE. Paris: Maloine, with the cooperation of the Centre National des Lettres. 1984. Pp. 421.

Monique Cubells has written a very interesting book, whose shortcomings are, unfortunately, as



meaningful as its indubitable achievements. The heart of Cubells's text is a very impressive prosopographical study of about two hundred fifty Provençal *parlementaires*—their families and familial connections, wealth and respectability, age, estates, income, furnishings, libraries, demography, hobbies, and so on. Everything is quantified here: culture via the number of *parlementaires* who owned Rousseau's *Social Contract* (two); sociability, via a study of membership in masonic lodges, academies, and penitents; and feudalism's vitality by the weight of dues and the number of suits. The list goes on.

The frame of the argument is unreformedly Marxist: "Is economic determination fundamental?" This is a "question controversée," Cubells admits. As it happens, however, "in the case of the Provençal *parlementaires*, it is difficult to deny it" (p. 406). The structure of the book reflects this historiographic option. A clearly materialist and even reductionist bias is immediately evident in the order of subjects the author considers. First comes a social description of the group at hand. The *parlementaires* overwhelmingly belonged to families that had ensconced themselves in the nobility during or since the seventeenth century. Nonetheless, the *parlementaires* closely resembled the *noblesse d'épée*, with whom they compared favorably, except perhaps for the weakness of the *parlementaires'* connections in Versailles.

After this presentation comes an analysis of the *parlementaires'* relationship to the means of production: they were rich landlords and were heavily dependent on feudal dues. Then comes treatment of their politics: they were not much moved by Montesquieu's theory of *corps intermédiaires*. Finally, after the base comes that old stand-by, superstructure: the *parlementaires* were learned and honest but not much interested in the Enlightenment.

The evidence marshaled here is very impressive, and Cubells is also very scrupulous about presenting many interesting bits of evidence that do not fit her argument. For example, she makes suggestive remarks about the individualistic implications of changes in family size and age at marriage. These asides, however, are invariably presented as curious exceptions that confirm her Marxist rules.

A different picture might have emerged if Cubells had thought about her problem differently. She could have argued that the *parlementaires* of Aix had indeed developed a novel world view, albeit in their private, depoliticized lives. (Had she done this, by the way, her picture of Aix would be much closer to the one presented last year by Michel Vovelle in his excellent book on Désorgues.) Her *parlementaires* may not have bought Rousseau's political tracts—this would have been too explicit a concession to change—but their taste in paintings and furnishings, for example, was new, and that might well have been important.

By gathering evidence of this kind, Cubells could have shown that the *parlementaires* were indeed men of their times, in which change did not have obvious, publicly stated, and politically charged implications. Their public stance was reactionary because it had to be: as arriviste landlords and closely watched jurists, for example, they were in no situation to ignore the feudal dues that were owed to them. But this public role playing had become formulaic, static, and propped up by its own dead weight. By 1789 the heart of the *parlementaires'* mentality was elsewhere, and this might have been shown by making more sustained reference to their uncoded and more private concerns. Such a historiographic strategy would explain why it was that when the object of their public stance collapsed, so did their devotion to it.

Cubells's approach is unpromising because the categories she considers self-evident have become sterile artifacts. If the historian decides that the structure of feudal dues is obviously more important than the elaboration of a new visual culture, to return to that example, the answer to the question "Did the *parlementaires* belong to a new elite?" is clearly no. But this solution speaks less to the evidence than to the strategy of the historian. History is not just what historians say it is, but history is an art that requires bold imagination.

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ROBERTO MARTUCCI. *La costituente ed il problema penale in Francia, 1789–1791*. Volume 1, *Alle origini del processo accusatorio: I decreti Beaumetz*. (Università de Macerata, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà de Giurisprudenza, second series, number 44.) Milan: A. Giuffrè. 1984. Pp. 315. L. 22,000.

The French monarchy's system of criminal justice was one of the main targets of enlightened criticism throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, and reforming it was high on the agenda of the Constituent Assembly. Roberto Martucci's monograph is the first of a promised two volumes on the process by which the assembly replaced the secrecy of criminal prosecutions with an open system in which juries, rather than judges, determined verdicts. The present work takes the story only as far as the spring of 1790 and discusses only the provisional measures the revolutionaries introduced to bring criminal trial procedures into some degree of conformity with the norms promised in the Declaration of Rights; a full evaluation of Martucci's work will have to wait for the continuation of his book.

The Constituent Assembly felt compelled to deal immediately with criminal defendants' rights, because of the wave of arrests associated with the

revolutionary crisis of July–August 1789. The well-known lawyer Nicolas Bergasse gave a major speech to the assembly on August 17, 1789, urging fundamental legal reforms, including adoption of a jury system, but such a massive change could not be carried out overnight. In the interim the assembly accepted a proposal presented by the deputy Bon-Albert Briois de Beaumetz and hurried into law under the pressure of the *journée* of October 5–6, 1789, which introduced such modifications as public proceedings and the right to counsel into the existing system. Martucci sees the Beaumetz decree's insistence that *notables* chosen from the community supervise the investigating magistrate to prevent abuses of suspects' rights as the most important feature of the new system and a step toward community involvement that culminated in the adoption of the jury system in 1791. In 1789, however, the *notables* rejected the time-consuming tasks thrust on them, and the failure of the limited reforms embodied in the Beaumetz decree cleared the way for consideration of more radical proposals.

In view of the broad consensus in the assembly for some sort of jury system from the very start, the difficulties the provisional Beaumetz system encountered may not have had as much significance as Martucci claims; only the sequel to this volume will demonstrate their connection to the later jury-trial system. His work is clearly written, traditional legal history, based on the Constituent Assembly's archives but with no attempt to investigate the practice of the legal system. His book is a contribution to our still-fragmentary knowledge of the workings of the Constituent Assembly, but readers seeking a broader social history of legal institutions will find it disappointing.

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R. R. PALMER. *The Improvement of Humanity: Education and the French Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1985. Pp. viii. 347. \$30.00.

Education was one of the democratic revolution's abiding values but in France not one of its clearest accomplishments. Believing, on the basis of the environmentalism of the Enlightenment, in education as a universal corrective to social ills, all the successive French revolutionary governments had as a central aim the improvement of humanity through the reform of education. In the end, though, they achieved neither modern mass schooling under the supervision of the secular state nor the end of "the double patriciate of wealth and privileged education" that their ideology claimed. Despite basic consensus on free, universal, and compulsory primary education, the actual institutions

that emerged from the French revolution were not clearly different from and certainly not more numerous or stronger than those that preceded it.

In this book R. R. Palmer, the leading American authority on the French revolution, analyzes the revolutionaries' democratic consensus and the reasons it was not ultimately embodied in institutions. Palmer's book does not pack the revisionist power of *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* (1959) or *Catholics and Unbelievers* (1939). It confirms, rather than revises, the characterization of the revolution that Palmer propounded in his earlier works.

Yet the book significantly changes our understanding of educational issues in the revolution. The religious issue—the conflict between secularization and clerical education—is pushed off center stage, since revolutionary ideas on education and those of clerical educators were less opposed to one another than they have been made out to be. Even the disbanding of the orders in 1792, far from assaulting these highly valued teachers, can be seen as continuing the prerevolutionary trend by which the secular orders, whose members staffed the most and the best schools, were becoming a teaching profession rather than a religious vocation.

Palmer does not consider anti-intellectualism to have been a significant impediment to a new educational system. The revolution swept little away, although much fell into disorder when schools lost their economic base. Even in the most radical phases of the revolution the authorities, guided by a concern for learning, tried to preserve the arts, monuments, buildings, and student scholarships. Even the educational plans that emanated from the Paris sections valued both mass education and higher education. Only a minor voice held schooling to be irrelevant or would have restricted education to the lowest common denominator on the grounds that none should enjoy what all could not have, although many questioned or opposed reliance on state action rather than private initiatives to provide education.

In Palmer's interpretation the drive to democratization in education was impeded and ultimately superseded by the differently weighted priorities of revolutionaries, especially the tension between two revolutionary ideals: democracy and modernity, or equality and quality. The centralization of institutions and personnel prerequisite to uniformity and geographical equity in a modern national educational system was resisted by those whose mistrust of Parisian hegemony fed on republican hatred of privileged corporations. Provisions for equality of opportunity to free poor but talented youths from the restrictions of the Old Regime's prescription of education according to estate foundered on populist reluctance to devote public resources drawn from all to the benefit of a few. Most importantly, intensive concern with the mass base of a new educational

pyramid eroded before increasing emphasis on the liberal agenda of the Enlightenment: the need for a technical elite that could effect social progress. In the end a class-based, two-track system provided primary education for the masses and higher education for the elite. The system that emerged provided for less social mobility and social mingling than had the prerevolutionary colleges, whose internal meritocracy had promoted cooperation and mobility across classes.

The breakthrough to a centralized, state-controlled, and secular educational system abandoned some revolutionary ideals to realize others. This development was not a class-based bourgeois reaction against democracy or a counterrevolutionary action from the Right, Bourbon or Bonapartist, but perhaps rather a "takeover of the Revolution by the intellectuals," who saw the overriding need for a useful educated minority.

Palmer surveys a vast array of treatises, projects, legislative proposals, and school records from before, during, and immediately after the revolution. He draws heavily on other historians' studies for the prerevolutionary situation, which, he finds, foreshadowed both the aspirations of the revolutionaries and the terms of their debate. Only someone of Palmer's erudition could have traced that debate through its many confusing changes of course as, for more than a decade, legislators proposed, debated, and declined to enact plan after plan. He only partially succeeds in this exposition: the reader can scarcely follow the story and at the same time see the interpretive thread that makes sense of it. With all its vastness the study has at least one boundary that is too restrictive. Palmer mistakenly assumes that discussion of boys' education also applies to girls' because both sexes were present at all educational levels but the highest. Including the vast literature on the education of girls and focusing on the difference gender made could reveal new meanings of the "democracy" the revolutionaries sought and would show other aspects of the revolution's failure to make education universal.

CAROLYN LOUGEE  
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DESMOND GREGORY, *The Ungovernable Rock: A History of the Anglo-Corsican Kingdom and Its Role in Britain's Mediterranean Strategy during the Revolutionary War, 1793-1797*. Cranbury, N.J.: Associated Univerity Presses, for Farleigh Dickinson University Press, Rutherford, N.J. 1985. Pp. 211. \$28.50.

Scholars of French and Mediterranean history, writing principally in French, have long been fascinated with the history of Corsica, but those in English historical studies have not been. Why this is so is not

difficult to explain. The career of Napoleon lends an importance in French historiography to an understanding of Corsican affairs just prior to and after the revolution in France that is simply missing from Anglo-American historiography. Despite the obvious and usually inexact parallels drawn between the constitutional ideas of the Corsican Pasquale de Paoli and those of Thomas Jefferson, John Wilkes, and others, the island's history has not commanded much attention outside the Continent.

Desmond Gregory's slender volume, therefore, is a welcome addition to the corpus of late eighteenth-century British historical scholarship. Based on a thorough evaluation of English-language sources, it deals with a minor event, the surprising establishment and inevitable collapse of the Anglo-Corsican Kingdom in the last decade of the century. Indeed, the intention of the author is principally to bring these events to the attention of English-speaking audiences. He has done more, for, in Corsica as elsewhere, many of the larger themes of late eighteenth-century global politics were played out on the stage of intrigue, petty politics, personal rivalries, and localism.

The most interesting aspects of the story itself are the characters of the principal participants. Whereas the author discusses the larger figures and issues of the period in conventional terms, he brings to life the men who dominated the Corsican scene. Paoli, a crafty and shrewd man, still could not escape from the shackles of his heritage. A man of great ideas, he became prisoner to his own ambition, even at the expense of the dreams he continued to hold for his island people. Gilbert Elliot was just the sort of viceroy for the circumstances surrounding these events. Able, if inexperienced, he was a perfect choice where little was at stake, at least in the larger arena. Shrewd Pozzo di Borgo, who later was to become an international diplomat of the first rank, was already the ablest personality on the scene. The other principals were not his match, nor was he to be contained by the limitations of the Corsican situation.

Gregory has done well to clarify the obvious and to explain why events could not have turned out otherwise. Corsica had limited strategic value for Britain. More important, it was assuredly defenseless against the French, especially given the unreliability of the Corsicans. The subsequent events of the war further minimized interest in Corsica because of British successes in Malta and Corfu, each of which was more important strategically and far easier to govern. Gregory has provided a ready way to learn the particulars of this story.

CHARLES R. MIDDLETON  
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G. DE BERTIER DE SAUVIGNY. *La France et les Français vus par les voyageurs américains 1814–1848*. In two volumes. Paris: Flammarion. 1982, 1985. Pp. 427; 341. 291.30 fr. the set.

Macon Leary, the author of guidebooks in Anne Tyler's novel *The Accidental Tourist* (1985), advises Muriel Pritchett, of the Meow-Bow Animal Hospital, that there is no need to speak French when ordering a meal in France. It is sufficient, he assures her, to ask for a *salade Niçoise*, a safe choice permitting her to eat nothing else when she travels in the nation. The Americans G. de Bertier de Sauvigny follows throughout France were less timid. In Paris the more prosperous dined on the famous *sole en matelote normande* at Le Rocher de Cancale or enjoyed the *turbot à la crème* at Le Grand Vatel. American physicians, diplomats, clergy, merchants, writers, medical students, brides on their wedding trip, generals, artists, and directors of railroads were determined to experience all that was possible in France. Not surprisingly, Paris essentially fashioned their artless, credulous, and discriminating judgments on France and French civilization. Faithful to their national disposition to be ever on the move, Americans also visited provincial France, where they were astonished and fascinated by the weight of the past on its regions, villages, fields, and towns.

Bertier de Sauvigny has drawn on the journals, books, and memoirs of 173 Americans traveling in France from the beginning of the Restoration until the eve of the revolution of 1848. In volume 1 he accompanies the Americans as they cross the Atlantic, clear customs, describe their first impressions in the capital, and become familiar with its *quartiers*, gardens, cafés, restaurants, markets, and stores. He describes in their words and with informed comments the Americans' opinions of the police, prisons, hospitals, museums, monuments, and funerals. He attends their visits to gambling places and notes their curiosity about prostitutes and vivid interest in popular and public festivities. When they leave Paris he is attentive to their transportation, lodging, routes they take and observations they make in Brittany, Aquitaine, Lyons, on the Rhone, and in the Midi.

In the second volume Bertier de Sauvigny presents and analyzes the Americans' more ambitious reflections on the French character, the women of France, class and social distance, daily life, high and low society, Charles X and Louis-Philippe, economic life, rural France, intellectual concerns, the practice of medicine, scientific endeavors, Protestant and Catholic worship, the army, and politics. The result is an intimate, witty, and astute recreation of the society and culture of France during the constitutional monarchy.

Americans in France did not in this era have hanging from their necks the cameras that today signal their presence in the Place de la Concorde, at Avignon, and at Aix-en-Provence. They are no less visible, however, in the written accounts of their experiences. Bertier de Sauvigny's place at the side of the sometimes intrusive Americans enables the historian to hear and see the deputies of the July Monarchy groan with boredom, leave the Chamber of Deputies, talk, and write letters when their distinguished colleague Charles de Reumusat rises to read a prepared speech. Attending a lecture by Michelet, August Kinsley Gardner, a medical student in Paris, described the historian as having the manner, delivery, and passion of an American Methodist preacher aided by the histrionic talents of the actor in a melodrama. Charles Fourier, so verbose and surrealist in his prose, is remembered by Albert Brisbane as reserved in comment, rarely speaking of his theories, and scrupulously avoiding explanations of his more abstruse findings. Henry Wiklof of Philadelphia, interviewing Chateaubriand in 1848, listened to the aged and ill poet discuss the end of Louis-Philippe's reign and predict, "L'avenir est au peuple" (vol. 2, p. 145).

American travelers found the working people of Paris to be not dangerous and criminal but, rather, open, courteous, and generous. Working women of France were admired for their competence, business sense, energy, and talent. Physicians and medical students visiting hospitals and operating theaters were awed by the skill of France's surgeons but also appalled by the arrogance and cruelty of the famous Dr. Alfred Velpeau. Dr. Peter Solomon Townsend of New York, visiting the Hôtel Dieu in Rouen, expressed his admiration for the order and discipline of the vast hospital. He noted in particular the patients' unending praise for its director, Dr. Achille-Cleophas Flaubert. One wonders if this much-loved physician confided to his American colleague that he was sorely troubled by the difficulty his seven-year-old son Gustave was having learning to read.

In Paris Americans recognized that the lower classes acrimoniously rejected the limited outcome of the July revolution. Watching the funeral of Casimir Périer on March 19, 1832, Henry Blake McLellan vividly described the use of bayonets, rifles, and swords to subdue the angry crowds at the gates of the cemetery, while along the Seine a virtual *émeute* was quelled by the rifle fire of the defenders of order and morality. In the years immediately prior to the revolution of 1848, France's American visitors increasingly observed the admiration and adulation evoked by the memory of Napoleon. Bertier de Sauvigny's encompassing knowledge of Restoration France makes this book an indispensable source for understanding the nation that so



attracted the passionate interest of Americans. Only the accidental historian will be without this guide and history.

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MARY JO NYE. *Science in the Provinces: Scientific Communities and Provincial Leadership in France, 1860–1930*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986. Pp. xi, 328. \$39.95.

"Paris c'est le monde, le reste de la terre n'en est que les faubourgs" (Marivaux, *La méprise*, scene 13). Since the eighteenth century Paris has been one of the world's great cities of science, burdened with a staggering number of teaching and research institutions at all levels. A generation of historians, including Mary Jo Nye, has written on Parisian scientists and institutions. An absence of information on scientific activities in the great provincial cities has led many to believe, erroneously, that little scientific work took place outside Paris, except birdwatching and careful observation of crustacean copulation. In Mauriac's *Le mystère Frontenac*, Yves denounces Bordeaux: "Naturally, in this stupid city, it is believed that any kind of merchant is more important than an *agrégé de lettres*. A wine merchant claims precedence over Pierre Duhem, professor in the faculty of sciences." As for professors and intellectuals: "In France, their name is an insult; in Germany 'professor' is worth a title of nobility . . . What a great nation!"

Nye's book destroys this myth of provincial *dolce far niente*. In a series of studies of the faculties of science in Nancy, Grenoble, Toulouse, Lyons, and Bordeaux, she shows that scientific life on the periphery was just as creative and productive as anywhere in imperial Germany, with most scientists doing essentially the same exciting or, more likely, dull things that they were doing elsewhere.

The book's thirty-two-page prelude to a tour of provincial cities provides an encapsulated history of science in the university system between Bonaparte and World War I. (On page 111 Louis Liard is erroneously made minister of public education, but he is correctly promoted to director of higher education on page 47.) A twenty-page conclusion assesses the achievements of French provincial scientists, a couple of whom were Nobel Prize winners, the equivalent for science of the *supertoque* gastronomic classification of 19.5/20 for an elite of French cooks. Nye concludes that local economic and cultural interests produced important specialties—physical chemistry in Grenoble, catalytic chemistry in Toulouse, organic synthesis in Lyons. Science, including significant theoretical thinking, flourished at provincial universities because of the insatiable

need for technologically trained personnel that was generated by agricultural and industrial growth. As Nye points out, she could easily have added Lille and Montpellier to her studies. Nye's decision to exclude biology from her book may explain her omission of Marseille.

Nye's heroes—François-Marie Raoult, Paul Sabatier, and Victor Grignard—were not tempted to give up hard work in the provinces for the frivolities of the Latin Quarter. Of course, a Sorbonnard experimental biologist such as Henri de Lucaze-Duthiers or Maurice Caullery had to spend lots of time in the provinces anyway: understanding the sexual behavior of sea life became a passion for late nineteenth-century biologists.

Nye does not find that the ingenious sociological webs spun by Edward Shils and Joseph Ben-David provide enlightening models of explanation for French scientific growth. *Bon voyage* to the center-periphery model and to the orthodox dogma of the exclusive role of centralized administration in generating intellectual glory. This is good news, but, in our new joy over provincial creativity, we should not completely forget that Paris was a great scientific city and that center and periphery have fruitfully interacted. The existence of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique along with the presence of a few top scientists good at getting funds made possible a post-World War II spurt of provincial scientific growth, including the transformation of the sluggish university of Bordeaux in the 1950s and 1960s, with great strength in chemistry and mathematics.

In his idiosyncratic survey, *Science since Babylon* (1975), Derek Price amusingly recounts the fiasco of René Blondlot's discovery of nonexistent N-rays in 1903 at Nancy. Price moralizes: "So it was that French science suffered a mortal blow." Nye's book leaves us no excuse for believing this rubbish, even for Nancy.

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SERGE BERNSTEIN. *Edouard Herriot ou la République en personne*. Paris: Fondation des Sciences Politiques, 1986. Pp. 327. 120 fr.

The posthumous fame of Edouard Herriot is an interesting matter. Few French statesmen of the interwar years enjoyed as wide and warm a reputation as he did, yet Herriot's role as a political leader of the French Third Republic has been neglected. In this monograph Serge Bernstein presents a careful and lengthy analysis of Herriot's value system and shows how his ideas were influenced by partisan politics.



Like Berstein's two-volume history of the Radical Socialist party, this work on the party's most colorful leader makes an important contribution to French history. Unlike most elected French officials, Herriot had no record of partisan activities when as a lycée instructor he became mayor of Lyons in 1905. As chief executive of France's second largest city at the age of thirty-three, he immediately became a *notable*. Nevertheless, his influence in the ruling circles of the Radical Socialist party was limited by the entrenched grand old men of the Radical tradition. A violent sectarian and "Jacobin" orator at national rallies, Herriot proved to be an extremely pragmatic, if not cautious, administrator in Lyons. He emerged as a major force in his party only after 1919, and his preeminence lasted until 1935.

Berstein deals in depth with Herriot's rebuilding of the Radical Socialist party after World War I. Following the party's severe defeat in the first post-war elections, Herriot led the Radicals to power in a coalition of the Left in 1924. Although noting that Herriot's governments in 1924 and 1932 were failures, Berstein argues that the prime minister was not entirely at fault. For example, he blames Herriot's inability to deal with the financial crisis in 1925 on the hostility of conservative banking circles. The author also defends some of Herriot's policies that are often criticized by historians. In regard to French foreign policy in 1924–25, Berstein maintains that Herriot's Geneva Protocol inaugurated the European climate of peace of the late 1920s.

Berstein, as the title of the work demonstrates, accepts a Radical leader's characterization of Herriot as "the Republic personified" (p. 294). For the author this close identification explains both Herriot's major weakness as a political leader and recent historians' lack of interest in him. Berstein states that his subject's ideals were those of late nineteenth-century Radicalism and that his methods and goals were anachronistic in the interwar decades. Berstein argues that the growth of mass political movements and the complex economic problems of these years were new phenomena that required changes in the policies and even in the role of government.

The author suggests that contemporary historians have failed to give Herriot due consideration because they do not identify with the ideals of turn-of-the-century Radicalism. Berstein helps remedy this neglect and convincingly demonstrates that, despite his defects, Herriot must be regarded as an outstanding example of the liberal democracy that shaped him as a statesman.

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R. D. GRILLO. *Ideologies and Institutions in Urban France: The Representation of Immigrants*. New York:

Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. xv, 328. \$44.50.

France too is a land of immigration, as social scientists are recently discovering. The Napoleonic image of the centralized state and culture is being revised, and R. D. Grillo's book adds to the growing literature on the subject. The book is particularly interesting for two reasons—it is the work of an anthropologist, and, instead of the inevitable focus on Paris, Grillo has chosen Lyons for study.

Grillo initially intended to concentrate on Italians in France. Indeed, Italian migration (along with Polish)—particularly to the coal mines—was of major importance to French economic development in the interwar years (see the works of Gary Cross, Gérard Noiriel, Serge Bonnet, Ralph Schor, and Janine Ponty). But, by the time Grillo arrived for fieldwork, the Italians he met were acting remarkably like the French, and he lamented the difficulty of developing a relationship with informants over the course of one year.

So Grillo found the North African immigrants, who comprise the contemporary immigrant worker "problem." And, if he could not speak with them either, for lack of knowledge of Arabic, he turned his attention to the intermediaries between immigrants and French society: *travailleurs sociaux*. More than social workers, these employees of unions and semipublic or private agencies have the double advantage of knowing the immigrants well and of being closer to the social scientist and fairly accessible objects of study. Grillo's book thus thoroughly examines all areas of immigrant life in Lyons from an institutional perspective: patterns of urban development, immigrant housing, immigrants at work, their children at school, and so on. If one is disappointed that the anthropologist has not given us a rich reconstruction of daily immigrant life (see Günter Wallraff's *Tête de Turc* [1985]), Grillo admits from the outset that this is not his intention. If the title of the book is not entirely fulfilled either, the subtitle identifies the strong point of Grillo's work: the representation of immigrants by the institutions that take care of them.

Anthropologists can be of most use to historians in their careful attention to language. Grillo listened closely to discourse about immigrants and sensitively analyzed such differences as that between *immigré* and *étranger* (chap. 3). *Etranger*, which can mean either foreigner or stranger, usually refers to nationality in the immigrant context, whereas *immigré*, implicitly shortened from *travailleur immigré*, represents a socioprofessional category. And, depending on the political orientation of the speaker, one or the other term will be given priority: *immigré* by the Left, *étranger* by the Right, in the first case to assimilate

them to the working class, in the second to emphasize their foreignness.

In the end, Grillo raises important questions about the representation of immigrants in the eyes of the *travailleurs sociaux* and their role as intermediary "messengers," who "process the immigrant voice." Grillo's book is a fine addition to the literature on immigrants in France, and his example of interpreting language should be useful for historians with regard to their own sources.

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ANNIE MOLINIÉ-BERTRAND. *Au siècle d'or l'Espagne et ses hommes: La population de Royaume de Castille au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Foreword by PIERRE CHAUNU. (Histoire.) Paris: Economica. 1985. Pp. iv, 445. 195 fr.

Scholars have at last begun to exploit the rich documentary base for historical demography in Habsburg Spain, mostly at the local level. Annie Molinié-Bertrand has taken a different approach by studying the Crown of Castile as a whole, including the Basque provinces in the north and Granada in the south, although the documentary evidence is much less complete for those areas than for the rest of Castile. The remarkable government censuses in 1528-36 and 1591 provided her most important sources, augmented by other enumerations in 1561, 1570, 1586, and 1597, to mention the most reliable among many. Parish registers for a handful of towns complete the list of sources. This classic French *thèse* involved fourteen years of research and analysis. Cartographic presentation of the results is being published separately; this is the descriptive summary of those results.

In discussing some 12,000 population centers, the author retained the sixteenth-century administrative units and chose 4.5 as the coefficient to translate the number of householders into a figure for total population, a traditional choice for Spanish demographic studies. Her findings are also traditional and will be familiar to scholars of early modern Spain. In brief, patterns of settlement in various regions of Castile differed substantially. To oversimplify, the north—wet, mountainous, and reconquered early from the Muslims in the Middle Ages—featured small and scattered population centers. The center and south—dry plains reconquered much later—featured large, concentrated population centers. Of the 12,000 centers analyzed, about 9,500 were in the north and 2,500 were in the south. These patterns evolved from a complex mixture of climate, topography, legal systems, and history, to which the author alludes, but, unfortunately, does not explain.

Regardless of differences in the distribution of Castilians on the landscape, their demographic history showed remarkable similarities in the sixteenth century. Everywhere the population grew, from 3.8 million to 6.6 million in the six decades from 1528 to 1591, an average rise of 73.6 percent, with growth ranging from below 20 percent to above 100 percent. Where censuses exist for 1561 as well as for the two end points, they suggest that most of this rise occurred before 1561, although one cannot assume that year marked the turning point (a caution that the author should have emphasized). Other intermediate censuses suggest that the real turning point for many areas in Castile was somewhere around 1580.

In all, this is an excellent introduction to the study of population movements in early modern Spain. Molinié-Bertrand defines as precisely as possible where people lived and how their numbers changed in the course of the sixteenth century, the peak of Spanish political and military power in the world. She does not even attempt, however, to explain why the population changed, why its growth in the sixteenth century varied from region to region, and how and why that growth slowed dramatically or ceased by about 1580. Throughout, the conclusions are descriptive, with analysis confined to sorting out and verifying information. Much current demographic work seeks to analyze the patterns Molinié-Bertrand has sketched. Just how much remains to be done is painfully clear in the brief section the author devotes to vital rates. The small collection of local studies she consulted, nearly all published before 1980, marks the beginning of rigorous local analysis of population and economic trends by a new generation of Spanish and foreign scholars. Yet, ironically, we still do not know the crude rates for births, marriages, and deaths in early modern Spain, let alone the more sophisticated measures, such as age-specific vital rates, that lie at the heart of modern demographic studies. The parish registers of Spain, overwhelming in their number and comprehensiveness, are just now being analyzed by modern methods of family reconstitution, pioneered by the French. To benefit fully from such studies, however, we need to know the overall shape of the population. Scholars in the field will find Molinié-Bertrand's book an invaluable reference tool in tracing what happened to the Castilian population during the sixteenth century. She leaves for others to find out why.

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DAVID GATES. *The Spanish Ulcer: A History of the Peninsular War*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1986. Pp. xiv, 557. \$29.95.

During this century there have been two monumental efforts to write a comprehensive history of Napoleon's Peninsular War. Charles Oman produced seven massive volumes, and John Fortescue devoted four thick volumes to the topic. Now David Gates has made a dedicated effort to write a comprehensive one-volume military history of the Peninsular War, but he has demonstrated that the task is impossible. He has produced a readable but unavoidably superficial narrative of the war that often degenerates into an encyclopedic mass of facts. Nevertheless, this volume, which might serve as an introduction for the novice, reflects the vital role of the regular Spanish armies, underscoring that, although repeatedly defeated, they remained in the war to carry on the struggle. The French are also given their due, but Wellington is treated with less reverence than usual. Doggedly tracing the military operations in the various provinces of Spain and Portugal during a six-year period, Gates describes the complexity of the war and the multitude of obstacles facing each of the belligerent generals. He also demonstrates the interrelationship between the many operations and their impact on each other.

Scholars will find little material not available in more authoritative studies. Numerous inaccuracies of fact and emphasis are scattered throughout the text. For example: Napoleon did not return to Madrid after the pursuit of Sir John Moore (p. 111); Bessi res was not duke of Istrie in 1808 (pp. 71, 78); Loison was not part of the Sixth Corps when he moved on Astorga (p. 224); Herrasti was not the "castle commandant" of Ciudad Rodrigo (p. 224); the magazines of Ciudad Rodrigo at the end of the siege, described by the author as "virtually exhausted," actually yielded fifty tons of wheat, one hundred thousand rations, and so on (p. 227); at the battle on the C a, Ney could not see Craufurd's retreat route (p. 227); the British subsidy to the Portuguese was only increased to 2 million pounds in the spring of 1811, after almost three years of war (p. 303).

At times the lack of balance is disturbing. Little effort is made to describe and evaluate the role of guerrillas in the war. Such operations as the third siege of Gerona receive twice as much coverage as the second siege of Saragossa and almost as much as the third invasion of Portugal, which was crucial to the outcome of the war. The multiple footnotes lack precision and often include questionable sources. To rely on Jourdan's *M moires* in describing Soult's operations in early 1809 is unfortunate when so many eyewitness accounts and published documents are available. Moreover, documents are cited indiscriminately from two different editions of Wellington's *Dispatches*, causing considerable confusion. Gates makes disconcerting omissions in citations from the Archives de la Guerre in France. Rather

than using and citing the thousands of documents in the thirty cartons of documents of the Army of Portugal in detailing Mass na's invasion of Portugal, the author cites a few cartons of documents from the correspondence of the Army of Spain, of which the great majority include peripheral material on operations in Portugal. Further, the publisher has done a major disservice to the author by including imprecise, poorly drawn, and awkwardly placed maps—many lack roads, topographic features, and details necessary to follow operations. Despite these shortcomings, this book can be of use to those interested in a panoramic view of the Peninsular struggle.

DONALD D. HORWARD  
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JAMES D. TRACY. *A Financial Revolution in the Habsburg Netherlands: Renten and Renteniers in the County of Holland, 1515–1565*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1985. Pp. xv, 276. \$35.00.

This excellent book, the fruit of assiduous, detailed research in the Belgian and Dutch archives, is an important contribution to the imperfectly studied field of early modern European public finance. The title was inspired by P. G. M. Dickson's *The Financial Revolution in England* (1967), a study of England's development, from 1688 to 1756, of a permanent, funded national debt, ultimately managed by the Bank of England. James D. Tracy argues that a similar but more crucial financial revolution (but without a central bank), occurred a century and a half earlier in the Habsburg Netherlands, circa 1515–65, and served as a model for the English, after the Dutch prince William of Orange became England's William III (1689–1702).

In the Netherlands the principal, if not exclusive, form of public debt was the *renten* (from French *rentes*), either "life" or heritable annuities. The Netherlands' "financial revolution"—surely too strong a term in both instances—was basically a response to the exigencies of internal politics and war finances, as was the case subsequently in England. But, unlike the English experience, the threefold set of changes in the Netherlands allowed the central government, the foreign Habsburg regents for Charles V, to reduce fiscal dependence on a few German and Italian bankers and to shift fiscal responsibility more to the provincial estates or "states." First, after 1515 the states took over direct control, sale, and management of the *renten* and paid the annuity interest from their share of the subsidy obligation to the prince (*aides* or *beden*); second, from 1542 the states shifted funding of *renten* from the uncertain foundation of the *aides* to specific excise, commercial, and

property taxes administered by the states themselves; and, third, from 1553 the states gave up compelling their wealthy subjects to purchase *renten* and thus allowed a "free market" in *renten* to emerge, providing greater confidence in them. Most of these changes are explained with admirable clarity (except for the secondary or resale market for *renten*, which is not really examined), but the origins of this fiscal system, despite chapters on that question, are not clearly elucidated. As both Edmund Fryde and Herman Van der Wee have argued (surprisingly, their chapters on public credit in the *Cambridge Economic History* volumes 3 and 5 are not cited), the princes of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainaut had long engaged in selling annuities funded by their share of urban tax revenues. Certainly Louis de Male of Flanders (1346–84) had done so frequently, and the Burgundian duke Philip the Good (1419–67) had regularly used the Brabantine towns (the core of the estates) to market ducal *renten* and thus provide ducal revenues (including his share of urban taxes) to fund them. Admittedly, the literature on this subject is thin, and the research necessary to answer the question would justify another monograph—perhaps as a sequel.

Space limitations do not permit a full examination of this book's many contributions, except the most notable: analyses of the individual *renten* sales, from 1515 to 1565, in Holland (the only province examined). Tracy found that local officeholders played by far the dominant role, and he argues *inter alia* that "heavy investment in provincial *renten* seems to have been part of a social process by which magistrate families succeeded to positions of responsibility and influence formerly occupied by the provincial nobility" (p. 187)—obviously an important issue on the eve of the Netherlands' revolt in the county that would lead the United Provinces against Spain. The book concludes with an illuminating survey of public finance and *renteniers* in Holland during its seventeenth-century Golden Age. I highly recommend this book.

JOHN H. MUNRO  
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G. D. RAMSAY. *The End of the Antwerp Mart. Volume 2, The Queen's Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands*. Dover, N.H.: Manchester University Press. 1986. Pp. 231. \$37.50.

A sequel to G. D. Ramsay's earlier work, *The City of London in International Politics at the Accession of Elizabeth Tudor* (1975), this book picks up where its predecessor leaves off, in 1565, when England and the Netherlands opened negotiations toward renewing their traditional alliance of trade and amity. Together, the two volumes aim to trace the decline

of Antwerp as the central market for English commerce during the sixteenth century.

Ramsay's approach may be best described as the investigation of the role of commerce, especially the voice of the London merchants, in shaping Elizabethan foreign policy toward the Netherlands. Diplomatic documents provide the most important sources for a detailed chronological analysis of the evolution of Anglo-Netherlandish relations and the shaping of Tudor trade policy. Ramsay pays little attention to the mechanics of the wool trade itself; rather, he concentrates on the events and personalities that contributed to the eventual demise of the Antwerp mart. To this end, the larger political, military, and religious context is skillfully sketched out.

Three major conclusions emerge from the dense web of chronological narrative. The most important point is the gradual decline of the Antwerp mart for England; the sack of Antwerp in 1576 by the mutinous Spanish army was not in itself a turning point. Already in the 1560s Anglo-Netherlandish trade ran into serious difficulties over tariff disputes; the iconoclastic riots of 1566, the arrival of the Duke of Alva and his subsequent repressive measures also contributed to worsening business conditions for English merchants. When the rebels took control of the Scheldt in the 1580s, the glorious days of Antwerp the great entrepot were over.

A second point worth noting is the strong connection between trade and diplomacy in Elizabethan England. Having examined memoranda and government policy papers, the author carefully describes the role of the city merchants, especially the Merchant Adventurers. The commercial considerations of Elizabethan foreign policy sharply differed from that of the Habsburgs, whose confessional and dynastic goals often overruled pure economic interests, even when someone such as Alva wanted to maintain friendly ties with England.

The final conclusion of the book demonstrates the relationship between the expansion of the English overseas trade and the demise of the Antwerp mart. In searching for alternative ports during periods of embargo and warfare, English merchants established themselves in Emden and Hamburg. To import products from the Levant and the Orient, English ships eventually sailed directly to the Mediterranean for trade and profit.

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PIRKKO LEINO-KAUKIAINEN. *Sensuuri ja sanomalehdistö suomessa vuosina 1891–1905*. [Censorship and Newspapers in Finland, 1891–1905]. Summary in English. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 126.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1984. Pp. 373.



Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen's book deals with the position of the Finnish press during the last years of the reign of Tsar Alexander III, who died in 1894, and the first decade of the reign of Tsar Nicholas II. For most of the nineteenth century, from the Declaration of Porvoo in 1809, when Alexander I assumed the role of Grand Duke of Finland and brought an end to Finland's six hundred fifty years' association with Sweden, the Finns did not feel that the Russian yoke bore too heavily on them. The screw began to tighten in the 1890s, with the appointment of Nikolai Bobrikov as governor general in 1898 and the announcement of the tsar's "February Manifesto" in 1899. The intensive program of Russification that was pursued by Bobrikov ended with his assassination in 1904. Russia was then engaged in the disastrous war with Japan, which resulted in the humiliating Peace of Portsmouth in 1905. The tsar was forced to head off the revolutionary ferment in Russia by accepting a quasi-democratic parliament, the Duma. In Finland these events led to the introduction of a parliamentary system that had many democratic elements—including a single chamber assembly, the Eduskunta, and equal voting rights for women. From then onward, despite Russian attempts to turn the clock back during the ensuing decade, the Finns were on their way to the independence that they achieved in 1917.

Although the Finns, like the Russians, were subjected to the arbitrary rule of the tsars, they did in fact win a considerable degree of freedom of the press during the middle years of the nineteenth century. It was, however, a fragile structure that could easily be damaged by the action of the tsar's representative, the governor-general. In 1891 this official was given the power to permit or to suppress the publication of Finnish periodicals. The first to hold these powers, F. L. Heiden, only used them once, during the first month of the new press laws, to suppress the provincial journal *Savo*, which was published in Kuopio. A new paper, *Uusi Savo*, immediately appeared, and, although twenty-five issues of it were banned in 1891 alone, it survived until 1903. As Leino-Kaukiainen shows in appendix 2, the peak years for the suppression of Finnish papers were 1900 and 1901, when Bobrikov's Russification campaign was at its height and when Finnish resistance was strongest. After 1902 censorship was relaxed, not because Bobrikov was becoming more liberal but because he was armed with new powers over the courts and the Finnish civil service. Most important, Bobrikov gained the power to send opposition leaders into exile in Siberia—as happened later to P. E. Svinhufvud, who became president of Finland in 1931. Bobrikov's attempt in 1900 to start an officially sponsored, proadministration paper—with a Russian-language version, *Finland-*

*skaia Gazeta*, and a Finnish edition, *Suomen Sanomat*—was a dismal failure.

On the whole, Swedish-language papers, especially those published in the provinces, were more severely treated at first than those written in Finnish, although the workers' paper, *Työmies* (first published in Helsinki in 1895) incurred the wrath of the censors on forty-five occasions in 1900 and thirty-four in 1903. One reason for the relatively lighter treatment of the Finnish papers may have been the difficulty of providing the censors with translations of Finnish articles. Later, however, the rapidly growing Finnish social democratic movement became more of a threat to the Russians than the mainly Swedish-speaking constitutionalists. A Finnish-speaking editor from Tampere, Yrjö Mäkelin, drafted the "Red Declaration," which called for radical reform of parliament and the granting of a much wider degree of autonomy from Russia. Surprisingly, Leino-Kaukiainen does not mention this.

This book makes a valuable contribution to an aspect of Russian and Finnish history that is little known in Western Europe or North America. It is a pity, therefore, that it is written in Finnish, although with an eight-page English summary. It is to be hoped that a full English version will eventually become available.

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MATTI LACKMAN. *Taistelu talonpojasta: Suomen kommunistisen puolueen suhde talonpoikaishyönteeseen ja talonpoikaishyönteisiin, 1918–1939* [The Struggle for the Peasant: The Finnish Communist Party's Attitude toward the Peasant Question and the Peasant Movements, 1918–39]. Summary in English. (Scripta Historica, Number 10; Acta Societatis Historicae Ouluensis.) Oulu: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Pohjoinen. 1985. Pp. 446.

In this book Matti Lackman describes in great detail the response of the Finnish Communist party and its various subsidiary organizations to eleven spontaneous, short-lived agrarian protest movements in northern and eastern Finland from 1918, when the party was established, to 1939, when the Winter War broke out.

With the exception of the well-known Lapua movement of the early 1930s, these outbursts, which were of relatively minor importance, have not been carefully studied. Lackman seeks to correct this deficiency in a study of excruciating thoroughness and detail: 323 pages of text, nearly twelve hundred notes, 59 pages of bibliography, and a 17-page English-language summary. Some important documentation (such as that in the archives of the Finnish Communist party's Central Committee) were out



of reach in Moscow. The author found considerable material in the records of Finland's police apparatus (EK-VALPO). Lackman approvingly cites three relevant memoirs, which make far more interesting reading: Arvo Tuominen's *Maan alla ja päällä: Muistelmia vuosilta 1921–1933* (1958), Jaakko Kivi's *Yössä maan alla: Työväenliikkeen veterani muistelee* (1975), and Yrjö Kääskelä's *Henkipattona Suomessa* (1978).

The Finnish Communists were singularly ineffective in winning peasant support, even though the countryside was riven by indebtedness, foreclosures, depression, and unemployment. In only three of the eleven movements was their influence characterized as "noteworthy." The vast majority of the country's rural elements remained stubbornly anti-communist; their protestations, when articulated, generally took a radical right orientation, as conspicuously in the Lapua incident.

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JEHUDA REINHARZ and WALTER SCHATZBERG, editors. *The Jewish Response to German Culture: From the Enlightenment to the Second World War*. (Proceedings of the International Conference on German Jews, 1983.) Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for Clark University, Worcester, Mass. 1985. Pp. xii, 362. \$32.50.

This volume of essays edited by Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg makes a valuable contribution to the continuing flow of studies of German Jews and their relations with the rest of German society in the last two centuries. The essays were first presented at an international conference at Clark University, but the contributions meet much higher standards in their consistency of focus, originality of research, and manner of presentation than is typical of conference proceedings. Like much of the literature on modern German Jews, the seventeen articles included here emphasize the history of ideas, culture, and, inevitably, the politics of Jewish-German relations. Nonetheless, they offer a number of new insights because many of the authors bring to bear new analytic concerns about turning points in intellectual development, about cultural change, and about acculturation and assimilation in a changing social fabric. What is most important, these essays graphically show the complexity of German Jews' intellectual and cultural responses to their changing social and political experience. No matter how great many German Jews' desire for social integration, many of their leading thinkers tended to refract the major new ideas and cultural trends in

contemporary Germany in distinctively Jewish prisms rather than simply reflect them.

The essays dealing with the Enlightenment and the early and mid-nineteenth century are perhaps the most satisfying in their consistency of focus on Jewish thinkers' efforts to reconcile Jewish traditions and values with their secular environment. The contributions by Alexander Altmann on Moses Mendelssohn, by Walter Röll on the Jewish Enlightenment in Cassel, by Michael A. Meyer on reform religious thinkers, by David Sorkin on Berthold Auerbach, and by Lothar Kahn on the Jewish writers around Heine show consistent Jewish efforts from the late eighteenth century to the unification of Germany to preserve Jewish traditions by adapting them to a modernizing world. Kahn convincingly argues that even writers of the Vormärz who formally abandoned the Jewish faith still retained distinctive Jewish concerns in their fiction. In the hands of a philosopher such as Hermann Cohen, efforts at reconciling Jewish thought with secular German values continued after the 1890s into the era of modern political anti-Semitism. Although Nathan Rotenstreich can only briefly survey Cohen's complex philosophic system, he reminds us that Cohen believed in a strong affinity between Judaism and *Deutschtum* and in a continuing symbiosis between the two.

The limitations on the acceptance of Jews and of Jewish traditions in German society and culture remained significant, however, throughout the nineteenth century. Essays by George L. Mosse and Jacob Katz review some of the cultural and social barriers. Although both these essays are impressionistic and touch on issues that the authors have treated at length elsewhere, they still offer some of the brilliant insights typical of these two scholars.

Although the essays that deal with the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries are generally high in quality, they tend to lose the focus on Jewish responses to the thought and values of secular German society defined earlier in the volume. Here politics and the history of organized Jewish community life loom larger than before. The most interesting essays are those by Werner E. Mosse, Shulamit Volkov, Steven E. Aschheim, and Jehuda Reinharz. Mosse shows that the famous contacts between William II and prominent Jewish businessmen were really only casual, short-lived, and generally at the emperor's initiative. Volkov suggests that processes of "dissimilation"—Jews' increasing distinctiveness as a group—may have been as strong or stronger than assimilation in Wilhelmine Germany, although she can offer little evidence for this within her article. Aschheim and Reinharz contribute to research on anti-Semitism by respectively tracing the development of the myth of Judaization in various parts of the German ideological spectrum and ana-

lyzing the complex responses by German Zionists to anti-Semitism in the Weimar period.

There are a few disappointments in this volume as well. Harry Zohn's essay on the Jewish contribution to *fin-de-siècle* Viennese culture and Guy Stern's on cooperation between German-Jewish and German-Christian writers in exile are little more than cataloguings. Sybil Milton's concluding essay on the archival legacy tries to do too much in a short compass and provides no clear survey of the surviving archival collections. That the shortcomings in this collection are relatively few is a tribute, though, to the care with which the editors as well as the authors have carried out their work.

GARY B. COHEN  
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RAINER BÖLLING. *Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Lehrer: Ein Überblick von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart*. (Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe, number 1495.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1983. Pp. 193. DM 20.80.

Most of the older histories of German teachers are framed within a particular state, and most are in-house chronicles of early birth pangs, recurrent setbacks, and ultimate progress in the career of a new profession and its associations. Rainer Bölling has synthesized recent research in the new interdisciplinary social history of education to plot the "professionalization" of teaching since the early nineteenth century. Since the analysis is at once broadly cast and carefully differentiated, the reader can gauge the relative advance of professionalization from state to state, at various levels of teaching, from the "academic" gymnasium to the "popular" elementary school, and, for teachers at the primary level, between town and country. Fortunately, Bölling also devotes attention to the role and status of women in various branches of teaching and to the kinds of professional identity they sought. The survey is dense in fact without being cluttered (particularly in quantitative data on teachers' social origins, their incomes, teacher-pupil ratios, and cycles of shortage and overcrowding in the employment market). It is also consistently judicious, especially in avoiding politically charged social categories (bourgeoisie, proletariat, *Kleinbürgertum*) and bringing a measure of skepticism to many of the conventional generalizations about teachers' political and ideological preferences.

The author of a survey can hardly be faulted for accurately presenting the current state of the field. But, to judge by Bölling's principles of organization and selection, the "new" social history of education—for all its success in replacing hagiography

and mere choniding with objective analysis of structures—has not departed as radically from old-style institutional and political history as its practitioners like to think. To Bölling, German variants on professionalization have been neither aberrant nor retarded; he wisely avoids measuring his subjects against the standard check list of "professional" characteristics, derived largely from the Anglo-American model for "free" professions. But he also fails to bring an alternative model for professionalization, shaped to the bureaucratic context of Germany, to bear on his meticulous empiricism. Hence, descriptive narrative (with the appropriate benchmarks of laws promulgated, training reformed, salaries improved, and associations founded) often substitutes for a historical explanation of process. The reader is left wondering whether German teaching represents an extreme symbiosis of professional and bureaucratic status, even within its own national context, or is typical of a larger national pattern.

More disturbing is a narrowness of vision in the study of education and professions, as the field persists in ignoring both new trends in intellectual history and anthropologically informed approaches to the study of *mentalité*. Bölling makes "collective mentalities" a necessary element in a historical "occupational sociology," but, when he does not equate collective consciousness with status consciousness, he reduces it to "political mentality," which in turn is deduced from teachers' affiliations with political parties. Left unexplored, for example, are how nineteenth-century gymnasium teachers, who commanded the entryway to university studies, conceived of academic talent and its social distribution and how elementary school teachers, who were both "state servants" and communal employees, coped with bureaucratic imposition and the priorities of local culture. Bölling may be justified in considering the history of pedagogy, as it has traditionally been written, irrelevant to the social reality of teaching. But the intellectual and ideological articulation of pedagogy and other new "disciplines" (for example, classical philology) was central to the claims to a new professional status and indeed to the very construction of collective mentalities. Here, new departures in intellectual history, designed to advance a historical sociology of knowledge, are indispensable for a "social" history of the professions.

Why has an innovative field reduced the historical study of group consciousness to so few dimensions? Why has its quantitative rigor not been complemented with new approaches to the disciplines on which claims to professional status have rested?

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North Carolina State University

PETER UWE HOHENDAHL. *Literarische Kultur im Zeitalter des Liberalismus 1830–1870*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1985. Pp. 480. DM 98.

This book is not, as its publishers claim, an "impressive survey of what may be the most significant phase of nineteenth-century German literary history." Important writers—among them Nikolaus Lenau, Eduard Mörike, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, Georg Büchner, and Paul Heyse—are mentioned only in passing or not at all. The origins, aims, and achievements of the major literary movements of the time are neither identified nor analyzed. Peter Uwe Hohendahl's concerns are with different matters. His book is part of the continuing debate among literary historians and sociologists over the nature of literature. Hohendahl is among those scholars who question or even absolutely reject the objective authority of a literary work. The adherents of movements such as "Rezeptionsästhetik" deny the concept of the literary text as an autonomous, unchanging artistic creation that contains within itself all elements necessary to its understanding. They have formulated theories that emphasize the changeableness of the literary product and that try to break down the distinction between art and nonart and the separation of literature from its social, economic, and political context. In this view the readers, themselves changing from generation to generation, become almost a part of the work they are reading and seeking to interpret.

Hohendahl applies this general approach to the literature of Central Europe between the Vormärz and the founding of the German empire. But, ultimately, it seems, he is more concerned with testing and advancing theory than with deepening our understanding of the writing, publishing, and reading of the period. What can a historian gain from his highly technical monograph, which overall is extremely selective but in parts almost excessively detailed? For one thing, the author has much of interest to say about what might be called the political and cultural psychology of German liberalism in the decades of its triumph and incipient decline. For another, his comments on methodological questions often have relevance beyond the boundaries of literary history—one example being his treatment of the requirements of genuine interdisciplinary research. Above all, the theoretical debate in which he is engaged is not without parallel in our own discipline. If such terms as "literary text" and "artistic creation" in the first paragraph of this review were changed to "historical acts" or "facts," the paragraph would address issues of central concern to historians. Hohendahl would hardly claim to have developed a comprehensive theory of the institution of literature and the appropriate methods of studying it, but his book advances a stimulating critique of

both traditional and revisionist concepts of the nature of literary—and, by extension, historical—fact and interpretation.

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HEINZ BEYER. *Arbeit steht auf uns'rer Fahne und das Evangelium: Sozialer Protestantismus und bürgerlicher Antisozialismus im Wuppertal 1880–1914*. (Die Arbeiterbewegung in den Rheinlanden, number 19.) Reinbek: Einhorn. 1985. Pp. 451. DM 26.

Heinz Beyer's fine study of middle-class Protestant social reformism in the Wuppertal during the imperial era, though limited in scope, illuminates an intricate network of political, economic, social, and religious organizations that sought to oppose the spread of subversive ideas among the masses of Germany. The book begins with an examination of the Wuppertal before World War I: its economic structure, the position of the working class, the trade unions, the business community, the role of the churches, and the political parties of the region. This background chapter, even if based in part on secondary works, especially Wolfgang Köllmann's study of Barmen, is informative and perceptive.

But the most important part of the book deals with the various benevolent philanthropic societies by which the propertied classes tried to counter the growth of radicalism among the workers of the Wuppertal. Some of them sought a solution to the labor question in self-reliance, self-help, and the sense of Christian solidarity between employers and employees. Others, emphasizing political activity among the masses, preached loyalty to emperor and fatherland and extolled civic virtues that helped maintain the established system of authority. Still others were primarily religious in nature and appealed to the traditional Protestant piety of the region through spiritual guidance, moral uplift, comstockery, temperance, a bit of anti-Catholicism, and a little anti-Semitism. The directors of these organizations were generally the pillars of society: prominent industrialists and businessmen, leading politicians of the rightist parties, and devout clergymen convinced that only through traditional values and loyalties could society be improved.

Not all of them were always in agreement, to be sure. Count Eduard Georg Bethusy-Huc, for example, a leader of the Free Conservatives in the Reichstag, complained that the "Christian social movement" was preparing the way for the "morbid tumor" of socialism by leading "moderate and otherwise sensible people along this downward path." Yet by and large the various groups and tendencies represented in the Protestant social movement

shared the conviction that only an antidemocratic, antisocialist, and antimodernist ideology could preserve the legitimate structure of power in Germany.

The efforts of these traditionalist organizations failed to prevent the spread of radical ideas before 1914, although Beyer shows that they enjoyed some success in the Wuppertal. Their real influence, however, came after the downfall of the imperial regime. In the days of the ill-fated republic, they attacked the new order more effectively than they had defended the old. Having failed to preserve an authoritarian political and social system, they turned after the war against a democratic government that was seeking to build a more just society. By their unremitting hostility to the forces of reform and modernization, they helped clear the way for a totalitarian dictatorship that was essentially as hostile to their vision of a moral community as to that of their republican opponents.

THEODORE S. HAMEROW  
University of Wisconsin

HERMANN HIERY. *Reichstagswahlen im Reichsland: Ein Beitrag zur Landesgeschichte von Elsass-Lothringen und zur Wahlgeschichte des Deutschen Reiches 1871–1918*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 80.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1986. Pp. 520. DM 78.

Hermann Hiery's book represents an excursion into both the regional history of Alsace-Lorraine and the history of elections in the German Reich between 1871 and 1918. The extent to which the author has succeeded in illuminating either the regional history of the *Reichsland* or the electoral history of the Reich is questionable. Hiery's prodigious research in public, private, and church archives in West Germany, East Germany, and Alsace-Lorraine has uncovered an overwhelming mass of detail concerning Reichstag elections in Alsace-Lorraine under the German regime. After a survey of the region's linguistic, confessional, "national," social, and economic configuration and some information concerning procedures for Reichstag elections, Hiery devotes three-quarters of his book to an examination of each Reichstag election in Alsace-Lorraine from 1874 to 1912. The reader is exposed to every detail the author discovered in the archives. Where analysis and interpretation appear, they lack originality. The conclusions Hiery derives from his data were essentially expounded during the 1960s and 1970s by a number of scholars.

Owing to the minimal, rudimentary development of a modern political party system in Alsace-Lorraine prior to the turn of the century (in large measure the result of strict enforcement of pre-1871 French laws on organizations), Hiery focuses his

electoral history of the *Reichsland* on "details and personalities," which the reader can barely assimilate. The author does, however, pose a fundamental question that serves as the book's underlying theme. Hiery seeks to determine whether and to what extent the attitude of the population of Alsace-Lorraine toward the "national question," raised by the annexation of 1871, was in 1912 (the year of the last prewar Reichstag election) still identical with that of 1871–74 (the *Reichsland* first participated in Reichstag elections in 1874). Further, he attempts to determine the cause for any change or lack of change in this attitude.

The election of 1874 produced sweeping victory for a coalition of Catholic (the population was 80 percent Catholic) and "protester" candidates in Alsace-Lorraine's fifteen electoral districts. The voters clearly rejected their new status as citizens ("second-class citizens" at that) in an "imperial territory" of Bismarck's new German Reich. The vote, however, should not be taken as proof of a pervasive pro-French, anti-German attitude. Between 1874 and 1912 confessional, economic, and social considerations far outweighed nationalistic sentiment in determining the population's attitude toward the German regime. Electoral battles in Alsace-Lorraine above all represented confessional struggles between the Catholic majority and liberal Protestant anticlericals. These confessional conflicts often included strong hints of anti-Semitism. In 1874 the voters rejected the new regime not because it was German but because it was Protestant and anticlerical. The introduction of the anti-Catholic Kulturkampf in the *Reichsland* confirmed the worst fears of the Alsace-Lorrainers. Yet not all Protestants accepted the German Reich. The urban bourgeoisie, led by factory owners, included both Catholic and Protestant protesters, whose economic interests were threatened by the incorporation of the territory into the German customs union and the loss of their French markets.

Gradually, the Catholic-protester coalition weakened, but the "Septennat" election of 1887 turned the contest into a plebiscite for France. The government (Bismarck) claimed that a vote against the military budget meant war with France. Motivated by the possibility of a French victory and the return of their territory to France, voters in the *Reichsland* favored candidates who opposed the government. The war failed to materialize, and by the 1890s the Alsace-Lorrainers recognized that the conditions established in 1871 were more or less permanent. One had to accept the status quo and work for the legal and constitutional equality of Alsace-Lorraine with the other German states, within the German Reich. Outright opposition ended as a second generation that had only experienced German rule came to maturity.



After 1890 the spirit of protest took a new form. The social democratic movement became the second largest political group after the Catholics in Alsace-Lorraine. In the elections held after 1900 nationality played no role. Regional issues and national German issues (imperialism in the "Hottentot" election of 1907) dominated the campaigns. The campaigns themselves were now conducted not by individuals running on their own platforms but by three dominant groups organized in parties using modern propaganda techniques: the Catholics, the Social Democrats, and the liberals. Electoral contests between these groups after 1900 continued to reflect confessional antagonism, but, on the national question, the situation in 1912 had come full circle since 1874. The Alsace-Lorrainers accepted their status as German citizens and simply demanded that they share all the rights and privileges of other German citizens. With massive documentation Hiery has confirmed the picture previously drawn by other authors.

DAN P. SILVERMAN  
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THOMAS SIEDHOFF. *Das Neue Theater in Frankfurt am Main 1911–1935: Versuch der systematischen Würdigung eines Theaterbetriebs*. (Studien zur Frankfurter Geschichte, number 19.) Frankfurt a/M.: Waldemar Kramer, 1985. Pp. 509.

The increasing affluence of the middle class in Frankfurt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was reflected in the private initiatives that led to the construction of the Frankfurt Opera, the Schauspielhaus, and the imposing railroad station that dominated the heart of the city. A growing population prompted the idea for a third, private theater in addition to those supported by the city. In contrast to many small commercial theaters, Arthur Hellmer's Neues Theater had extensive seasonal repertoires and was considered a complement to the mostly classical Schauspielhaus: 90 percent of the Neues Theater's productions were of works by contemporary dramatists. In twenty-four seasons Hellmer mounted a staggering 913 productions, averaging 38 new offerings per season (compared to a current maximum of about 12 in theaters of similar size in the Federal Republic).

During World War I, Thomas Siedhoff points out, Frankfurt had a more tolerant censorship than Berlin, and in 1916 Hellmer was able to seize on the awakening interest in expressionism with the premiere production of Rene Schickele's *Hans im Schnakenloch*. This was followed by the premiere of Georg Kaiser's *Bürger von Calais* and by early productions of plays by such authors as Oskar Kokoschka, Walter Hasenclever, Carl Sternheim, and Ernst

Toller, all of which helped gain a name for Frankfurt as a center of avant-garde theater.

The need to turn a profit led to many a potboiler, but the Neues Theater also showed a willingness to embrace new plays of literary merit, and Hellmer had the knack for making financial successes of a surprisingly large number of them.

The many productions of plays by Jewish authors or on Jewish themes for which the theater was noted were not part of any doctrine; rather, says Siedhoff, they reflect Hellmer's desire to present aspects of Jewish life to make them accessible to non-Jewish as well as Jewish audiences.

The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 forced Hellmer as a Jew to withdraw from the management, and the Neues Theater ceased to exist in June of 1935. The final performance was a revival of *Das Konto X*, "a comedy about love and other unmodern matters," which dealt with the love and eventual marriage of a countess and her Jewish financial manager.

In seeking to characterize the Neues Theater and provide the documentary basis for considering its artistic achievement, Siedhoff had to work against the lack of systematic collections of the theater's programs and publications. He used newspaper accounts, memoirs, interviews, and scattered collections to fill in gaps. Fully three hundred fifty pages are devoted to a listing of productions with dates, credits, and numbers of performances, all cross-indexed, and to a catalogue of extant designs, set models, photographs, and texts of plays. An extensive bibliography supplements footnoted materials. The dogged inclusiveness of Siedhoff's scholarship and his dry-as-dust prose style scarcely make for engaging reading, but this book will be a useful resource for future studies on the role of commercial theater and its popular reception in Germany from before World War I to the mid-1930s.

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C. PAUL VINCENT. *The Politics of Hunger: The Allied Blockade of Germany, 1915–1919*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1985. Pp. viii, 191. \$19.95.

Politics and food are surely no strangers. At least twice in the twentieth century, European governments have induced famine—the second time in the Ukraine in the 1930s, the first time during World War I with the Allied imposition of the "hunger blockade" on Germany. C. Paul Vincent's book is a study of this first political famine of our century. The blockade killed perhaps three-quarters of a million civilians, defeated Germany, ended World War I, and sowed the seeds of World War II. The blockade of Germany began in 1915 and, despite the armistice in November 1918, officially continued



until July 1919. Although Vincent discusses the entire period, his book concentrates on the last few months of the blockade, from the end of the war in November 1918 to the first deliveries of food to Germany in March 1919. The book is well written and clearly argued and is a valuable introduction to a most complex topic.

To be sure, this is by no means the definitive study of the blockade. Vincent demonstrates that the blockade was a weapon of war with profound economic, legal, diplomatic, and biological ramifications. Yet his study is remarkably brief, only some one hundred thirty pages, discounting notes and bibliography. The book's sources are limited. Vincent notes France's key role in debates about the blockade, but he uses no French materials. German sources are cited but are used sparingly. Vincent's argument primarily rests on published Anglo-American materials. Although the study includes extensive statistics, they are used more for illustrative than for analytical purposes. The least convincing part of the book is the author's speculation that physiological damage done to Germans during the blockade had some relationship to Weimar Germany's "irrational" politics. Like biochemical arguments for the fall of Rome and seventeenth-century witchcraft, this argument is worth exploring but will require much more proof than Vincent offers.

The book has two major strengths. The first is the analysis of the diplomacy of the blockade, particularly the debate about shipments of food to Germany after the armistice. Between November 1918 and March 1919, while thousands of Germans starved and tons of American food spoiled in Dutch harbors, Allied ministers debated the politics of hunger. Americans worried about farm prices back home. The British fretted about control of the German merchant fleet. Vincent's portrait of the French is especially damning. Unwilling to support free Allied food deliveries to the Germans, the French also refused to let the Germans buy food with money the French hoped to get later as reparations. Food was finally delivered as much for political as for humanitarian reasons. Fearful of growing German radicalism, the Allies hoped to use food as a weapon to defuse the appeal of bolshevism.

The second strength of the book is the discussion of the physiological impact of the blockade on the Germans. Vincent provides all of the relevant data on malnutrition, disease, and mortality. To be sure, a number of questions are left unasked. To what extent, for example, did mortality differ by gender, region, or class? How was the experience of famine portrayed in the arts? Nevertheless, Vincent provides an accurate, and chilling, account of the brutal outcome of the politics of hunger.

This book is certainly not the last word on the blockade. Vincent's text is, nevertheless, a clear introduction to the problems and issues involved. It is a valuable contribution to the growing literature on the social impact of World War I.

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GUNTHER MAI, editor. *Arbeitschaft in Deutschland 1914–1918: Studien zu Arbeitskampf und Arbeitsmarkt im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Düsseldorf: Droste. 1985. Pp. 323. DM 58.

Twenty years after the publication of Gerald D. Feldman's *Army, Industry and Labor in Germany, 1914–1918*, much remains to be said about the complex relations of businessmen, workers, and the state in World War I; the essays in this collection make that clear. Was the war fought with or against the German working class? Did the Auxiliary Service Law of 1916 provide new opportunities for the institutionalized representation of working-class interests, or did it legalize the subordination of workers to the demands of the war economy? There are no simple answers to these questions, posed by contemporaries and presented once again in this collection's introductory essay by the editor, Gunther Mai. Any response requires dividing the working class by region, occupation, skill, and gender, and these essays offer this differentiated approach. In contrast to much of the research on workers in the war, which has focused on the heavily industrial Ruhr, the studies included here describe the experience of workers in Hamburg's shipbuilding industry (Hans-Joachim Bieber), metalworkers in Berlin (Dirk H. Müller) and Ulm (Mai), the rapid expansion of the chemical industry (Gottfried Plumpe), and textile workers in Augsburg (Merith Niehuss). In addition, Dieter Krüger's contribution illuminates the relationship between the pre-1914 conceptions for improving management-worker relations, proposed by middle-class social reformers, and the reforms actually introduced by the state under war-time exigencies. Finally, Ute Daniel provides a general survey of women's work and wages during the war in which she convincingly argues that the increase in women's participation in the labor force after 1914 reflected not the unprecedented entry of women into wage labor but, rather, the continuation of pre-1914 trends and the movement of female factory workers into war-related industries.

The most interesting and innovative pieces in the collection are Niehuss's analysis of the problems of female unemployment and the expansion of social welfare measures in a city dominated by the textile industry and Daniel's investigation of the clear lim-

itations set to the expansion of female employment, despite the problems of massive labor shortages after 1916. The other essays elaborate on far more familiar themes—the problems created by the creation of factory-level worker representation during the war, the dimensions of working-class protest, and the dilemmas of trade union and socialist leaders caught between a repressive state and an increasingly radicalized working class. They offer little, however, in the way of methodological innovation. The efforts of such historians as Mary Nolau, David Crew, Erhard Lucas, and Klaus Tenfelde to link the structure of community life and long-term patterns of class formation to the articulation of class conflict find few parallels in these essays. Protest remains largely a product of the inadequacy of the food supply, the level of shop-floor organization, and conditions at the workplace. Several of the essays stress the changing role of women in the labor force, but they do not attempt to capture the war's impact on non-wage-earning women who daily confronted the problems of shortages and the inequities of the black market or the ways in which families and communities became involved in protests that originated at the workplace.

As the editor's introduction promises, this collection delivers a more diversified picture of the problems of German labor in World War I, and, in this sense, it adds to our understanding of working-class experience during the war. It does not, however, offer a new methodological perspective on that experience for those already familiar with the massive literature on working-class conflict in this period.

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HEINRICH AUGUST WINKLER. *Der Schein der Normalität: Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung in der Weimarer Republik 1924 bis 1930*. (Geschichte der Arbeiter und der Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts.) Berlin: J. H. W. Dietz. 1985. Pp. 895.

The second volume of Heinrich August Winkler's trilogy on workers and the labor movement in the Weimar Republic opens with a lengthy discussion of the inner structure, consciousness, and culture of the working class in the 1920s and combines a useful analysis of the occupational census of 1925 with a synthesis of the relevant literature. The census revealed the labor movement's demographic optimism of prewar days to be illusory. Manual labor had reached its numerical peak and was already beginning to decline relative to the emerging service sector. Workers were being concentrated into larger

units of production, and cartels were growing in power. Real wages—argues Winkler, taking issue with Knut Borchardt—were rising but were by no means high, either compared with those obtaining in other countries or those current in Germany before 1914. Hours and conditions of work did not, perhaps, deteriorate as severely as much of the literature on rationalization has claimed. But, all in all, the data presented by Winkler make the weaknesses of labor's position in the Weimar era painfully clear, and it is a pity that he does not spell out more explicitly the implications of the evidence he has synthesized with such mastery. In general, indeed, he misses many of the opportunities that his material provides of relating the worker's situation and consciousness to the politics of the labor movement. Winkler gives a superb account of workers' culture and shows that it was being undermined, or by-passed, by the use of mass communications media. He describes the common values and customs shared by the adherents of both the Social Democrats and the Communists, but he portrays the split between the cultural and leisure institutions of the two movements as an artificial import from the political world. He thus neglects the opportunity to explore, as Dick Geary, James Wickham, and others have done, the internal origins of the fatal split in the sociocultural institutions of the Left. In view of the role that violence and crime played in the final years of the republic, Winkler's account of working-class deviance is disappointingly brief and weak.

After this opening section Winkler launches into a detailed narrative of party-political developments, elections, and cabinet politics between 1924 and 1928. His major thesis, as in the first volume, is that the Weimar Republic would have stood a better chance of surviving had the Social Democratic party (SPD) been more willing to compromise with other parties and take on governmental responsibility. This view informs virtually every aspect of his analysis of the ins-and-outs of party-political negotiations and maneuverings in this period. In 1928 the SPD finally took the plunge and formed the Grand Coalition under Hermann Müller, and its fortunes form the subject of the third and final part of the book. Winkler is right to regard the coalition as Weimar's last chance, but the consequences he draws from this—that the SPD should have kept it going at any price—ignore the problem of whether the mass of its members, whose interests would have been to a large extent sacrificed had this course been taken, would have remained loyal. The claim that a flexible and mature attitude like that of the Labour party in England would have overcome these problems was certainly not borne out by Labour's fate in 1931.

Interwoven with this narrative is a detailed account of the bolshevization and then stalinization of

the Communist party of Germany (KPD), ending in its espousal of the thesis that the Social Democrats were really "social fascists." Winkler's grasp of recent literature on this subject is impressive, but his hostility to the Communists causes a complete failure of historical imagination in explaining why they took this course, why so many millions of workers supported them, or, indeed, why they enjoyed such sympathy among Weimar's left-wing intellectuals. Winkler virtually ascribes the process to the manipulative genius of Stalin, aided by the limited intelligence and abilities of the KPD leader Ernst Thälmann. Attributing the KPD vote to the protest of the unemployed or the radicalizing effects of the war on the young does not explain how such a disastrous policy as the "social fascism" thesis could have had such a wide appeal. The popularity of the KPD surely reflected the place of Russia in the mythology of the Left in this period, as a center not only of social revolution but of artistic creativity and experimentation. But, ultimately, explaining the mass support of the Communists involves exploring some of the weaknesses and inadequacies of the Social Democrats, which Winkler is all too reluctant to do. For example, he concedes that the SPD police chief of Berlin, Karl Zörgiebel, made a foolish decision in banning Communist demonstrations on May Day in 1929, in which over thirty demonstrators were killed by the police, but he concentrates on how the KPD exploited the incident for propaganda purposes, not on the inadequacies it revealed in the SPD's attitude toward the forces of law and order supposedly under their control. None of this bodes well for the treatment of the Communists or the explanations for the failures of the labor movement in the face of the Nazi onslaught in 1930–33 that will be provided in the final volume of the trilogy.

Winkler's book has much of interest to say on a host of other issues too numerous to discuss here—from the role of women and youth in the labor movement to the policies of the employers and the tactics of strike leaders in industrial disputes. The book's great strengths lie in the author's ability to portray complex issues and events clearly, his skill in synthesizing a vast and diverse literature, and his calm, unpolemical handling of the difficult and often acrimonious scholarly disputes that surround almost every topic he deals with. One feels he has not been able to hold his material together as well as in the first volume, so that the book seems at times to be almost a collection of essays on subjects whose relation to one another is never made clear. It is also in general more factual and less interpretative than the first volume. The book is enlivened by plenty of contemporary illustrations, but one wishes that Winkler had paused occasionally to give character sketches of some of the main figures, who mostly come across as cardboard characters with no real

personality of their own. Although Winkler's style continues to be exemplary in its clarity, it seems to have lost here some of the sparkle it had in the first volume; perhaps this is because the story he has to tell is less exciting. Most problematical is the author's *parti pris* for the right wing of the SPD, which pervades his analysis. But, whatever reservations one might have, this is without doubt historical writing of the highest order. When the third volume finally appears, it will be safe to say that Winkler's trilogy will remain the standard work on its subject for years to come.

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F. L. CARSTEN, *Britain and the Weimar Republic: The British Documents*. New York: Schocken. 1984. Pp. viii, 343. \$20.00.

This is not diplomatic history, as the title implies, but an account of events, issues, organizations, and persons in Weimar Germany as seen by a range of British officials, particularly those serving in Germany and responsible for reporting to London. Using the voluminous British records on Germany for 1918 to 1933 to reexamine German internal affairs, F. L. Carsten finds the reports of British observers well-informed, incredibly detailed, and remarkably free from bias. They thus enhance our understanding of the history and the causes of the failure of the German republic.

There are some surprises, such as the high degree of anti-Semitism among some British observers in Germany (though not in the Foreign Office), the extent of German support for Hitler at the time of the Munich Putsch (1923), and Foreign Secretary Gustav Stresemann's highly critical attitude toward the increasingly independent and arrogant Reichswehr. Most of the major themes, however, will be generally familiar to scholars of the period: the dangers to Weimar of threats from both Left and Right, awareness by British experts of German infirmary of Versailles (which they chose to minimize in the interest of reconciliation and strengthening the Weimar regime), the impact of inflation and the terrible misery that it caused, tedious Anglo-French differences over how to handle Germany, and so on. The major contribution of the book lies in the informative detail and the particular interpretive slants that contemporary British observers provided on important aspects of Weimar Germany. Carsten lets the documents speak for themselves, but he is adept at drawing inferences and developing succinct summaries.

The complexity of German sentiments and attitudes is evident throughout; a chapter on Bavaria to 1923, for example, presents the bewildering specta-

cle of nationalist, monarchist, Catholic, and extreme right-wing currents—all hostile to Berlin and its allegedly Marxist government. No problem contributed more to German disintegration and chaos and to the alienation of large numbers of people than runaway inflation. A long chapter on the Ruhr crisis of 1923 is devoted to this. A recurring subject throughout is the seemingly inexorable growth of German nationalism and militarism and their expression through organizations (including secret societies and paramilitary groups) over which the government could exercise little control. British observers were keenly aware of the dangers here and reported them carefully. They did not underestimate Hitler and the Nazis, although some did not perceive the totally destructive and nihilist character of the movement. But the general British attitude toward Germany was friendly and conciliatory, intended to encourage German recovery to the benefit of British trade and the stability of Central Europe. Factors contributing to this posture included the prestige of Stresemann (who was well regarded in London), commitment to a Continental balance of power, and a desire to strengthen the West against the East. Britain always disclaimed any intention to mediate between France and Germany but often did. Carsten's evaluation of this policy is mixed. A story of missed opportunities to take action to meet developing dangers, it might have succeeded had the world economic crisis not intervened and had democratic institutions survived in Germany (as was generally expected prior to 1930). In any case, the reader is rendered limp by the vicious cross-currents of feeling that were ripping the fabric of German society. British observers similarly were helpless in the face of Nazi consolidation. Thoroughly repulsed by its brutality, they had no suggestions what to do about it.

The study is well executed in most regards, although several chapters assume, by virtue of the subject matter, a catalogue-of-problems character. It is punctuated by interesting pieces of information such as these: university students formed the core of the extreme Right in many German towns; British officials clearly saw the need to rectify the Polish Corridor but were absolutely hamstrung by Paris—and Warsaw; Henry Ford made early contributions to the Nazi party.

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WOODRUFF D. SMITH. *The Ideological Origins of Nazi Imperialism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1986. Pp. viii, 333. \$39.95.

Reading German history, one repeatedly encounters statements like the following: "In this age of the

great struggle . . . we are fighting as 'wild beasts' [Wilde], unorganized levies against an old, organized power. The battle seems unequal; but in matters of the spirit it is never the numbers but the strength of the ideas that conquers. The dreadful weapons of the 'wild beasts' are their new ideas: these kill more effectively than steel and break what was thought to be unbreakable." Could this be the voice of a Nazi storm trooper or of a radical nationalist in the Wilhelmine era? Perhaps a Nietzschean call to arms? In fact, these lines were penned by the Expressionist artist Franz Marc, writing in the famous almanac *Der Blaue Reiter*, which appeared in Munich in 1912. They serve as a reminder that in modern German history ideas have often exerted an exceptionally powerful impact, if only because they were perceived as powerful by German contemporaries—by the "little man" no less than "great men" such as Bismarck and Hitler. The question of their impact is not necessarily dealt with satisfactorily by means of tiresomely intoned, vague, and trendy demands for closer examination of process and social context.

Here Woodruff D. Smith seeks to uncover the intellectual roots of Nazi imperialism. He is fully aware of the great difficulties to be confronted by the historian embarking on the hazardous enterprise of tracing ideological antecedents. But he is convinced that the task is both worthwhile and possible. He argues that, beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, two discrete imperialist ideologies emerged in Germany. One was *Weltpolitik*, which involved external economic expansion and was championed principally by the industrial lobby; the other, the pursuit of *Lebensraum* in the East and overseas, was the radical conservative solution to the real and imagined internal and external woes of a nation plunged into hothouse industrialization. The author depicts Nazi imperialism as the final attempt to integrate these two ideologies, previous efforts to do so having allegedly fallen well short of their targets.

Though by no means diffuse, this book is rich in its implications and ramifications. Among the issues broached—for the most part, fruitfully—are the *Sonderweg* debate, the question of continuity and discontinuity in recent German history, the phenomenon of Hitler ("weak dictator" or modern Caesar), the essence of Nazism, and the validity and relevance of intellectual history.

In this case the jacket blurb is accurate, for it cites Geoff Eley's description of Smith's book as a study that "both synthesizes much recent research and makes an original contribution in its own right. Its carefully articulated theoretical framework allows us to make sense of this complex topic in a much more satisfying way." Smith has certainly done much more than simply concatenate quotations from a few extremist publicists. Yet the most important



question—as formulated by Ernst Deuerlein two decades ago in his *Hitler: Eine politische Biographie* (1969), “what made Hitler possible”—is barely touched on here. The answer, it may be felt, is more likely to be found in a sharper focus on the lost war, the Versailles peace settlement, rampant inflation, and the Great Depression than in tracing the intellectual pedigree of, say, Walther Darré, the leader of Hitler’s “Green party,” as Anna Bramwell describes him in her *Blood and Soil* (1985). Bramwell is but one among many important British scholars whose work, for some reason, is totally ignored by Smith. More disconcertingly, Smith appears to be wholly ignorant of Fritz Fischer’s *Bündnis der Eliten* (1979), which concisely draws together most of the significant findings of the “Fischer school” on the question of continuity in German history from 1871 to 1945. Consultation of this slim volume, (now available in English as *From Kaiserreich to Third Reich* [1986]) together with more extensive and intensive use of the vast monographic literature produced by the “Wehlerite” social historians of politics, might have spared Smith the embarrassment of attempting to “crash through open doors,” as when he promises to demonstrate “that before and during the First World War there were at least two different aggregations of imperialist ideas current in German politics” (p. 6). Still, this is an excellent study—probably the most thoughtful, detailed, and erudite account of this subject that has yet been written.

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IAN KERSHAW. *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*. Baltimore: Edward Arnold. 1985. Pp. viii, 164. \$13.95.

This stimulating assessment of writings on the Nazi regime by the British historian Ian Kershaw is the most recent of a number of such publications on the Third Reich to appear during the past five years. In addition to similar historiographical surveys by John Hiden and John Farquharson, Klaus Hildebrand, and Andreas Hillgruber, other attempts to evaluate the burgeoning scholarship dealing with the Nazi dictatorship have ranged from the published proceedings of international conferences (Gerhard Hirschfeld and Lothar Kettenacker, editors, *Der “Führerstaat”* [1981]) to anthologies of appropriate articles (Karl D. Bracher, *et al.*, editors, *Nationalsozialistische Diktatur*, [1983]; H. W. Koch, editor, *Aspects of the Third Reich*, [1985]).

In contrast to such general historiographical treatments of National Socialism as Pierre Ayçoberry’s *The Nazi Question* (1981), Kershaw has selected a more narrow approach. Although he does not ne-

glect important contributions by Anglo-American and East German historians, the author focuses on the works of West German scholars, primarily of a “liberal-democratic persuasion,” because “the controversies about interpreting Nazism have above all been West German controversies” (pp. 1–2). Furthermore, Kershaw juxtaposes the findings of the Hitler-centered “intentionalists” (Hillgruber, Hildebrand, Bracher, and Eberhard Jäckel) with those of the “structuralists” (Hans Mommsen and Martin Broszat). Like Hiden and Farquharson, the author is impatient with a biographical approach to National Socialism and suggests instead a synthesis of intention and structure in explaining the Nazi regime.

Kershaw’s book presents in detail conflicting scholarly views on the following topics: the debate whether National Socialism was a variant of totalitarianism or fascism and to what degree it was a uniquely German phenomenon; Hitler’s role and function in both domestic and foreign affairs, particularly his responsibility for the Holocaust; and the nature of social change in the Third Reich. Kershaw not only examines the historiographical debate but also offers his own thorough and, usually, judicious evaluations. The author views Nazism as a variant of fascism, which was unique not primarily because of Hitler’s personality but, rather, because of specific German political and socioeconomic conditions. The author also rejects both the “primacy of politics” and the “primacy of economics” arguments, and he challenges the views of Ralf Dahrendorf and David Schoenbaum by categorically denying that the Third Reich produced a social revolution. According to Kershaw, Hitler rarely intervened in domestic affairs, but in foreign affairs Hitler was responsible for initiatives as well as major decisions. Most controversially, the author argues that “in the ‘Jewish Question’ his [Hitler’s] main contribution consisted of setting the distant target, shaping the climate, and sanctioning the actions of others” (p. 128). Kershaw concludes that Hitler’s intentions were crucial for developments in Nazi Germany, but the conditions under which these intentions became reality were not totally controlled by the Nazi leader. Although some historians may question the omission of such topics as resistance and “public opinion” (Kershaw’s specialty) and structuralists will probably find the author’s arguments more convincing than will intentionalists, this book represents one of the best recent contributions to the debate on the nature of the Third Reich.

JOHN PETER HORST GRILL  
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JOHN GILLINGHAM. *Industry and Politics in the Third Reich: Ruhr Coal, Hitler, and Europe*. New York:



Columbia University Press, 1985. Pp. xii, 183. \$20.00.

This is an important and praiseworthy book. John Gillingham tackles two familiar, controversial issues: the relationship between German big business and Nazism and the connection between Hitler's Reich and the society that succeeded it in West Germany. He brings to bear a solid, though not exhaustive, command of the pertinent literature and impressive research into the most relevant documentary collections. Thus armed, he arrives at new, ironic, and convincing conclusions. In his view the adverse competitive position of the Ruhr coal industry in the 1920s resulted in a blinkered and defensive managerial strategy during the ensuing two decades. The Ruhr's leaders shied away from diversification, resisted expansion for fear of accumulating excess capacity, concentrated on increasing outputs while reducing labor costs, and viewed "change itself with fear and suspicion" (pp. 32–33). Having brought these men to "the verge of bankruptcy" by 1933 (p. 28), this fortress mentality accounted for their ingratitude toward the Nazi regime's labor policies, "prevented the effective mobilization of the Reich's energy resources" (p. 45), thus made "the survival of the Ruhr mining industry as a private enterprise appear increasingly doubtful" by 1939–40 (p. 64), assured that "the coal supply situation grew steadily worse" during the war (p. 130), and encouraged an unacquisitive stance in occupied Western Europe, which facilitated the industry's survival after 1945. In sum, managerial closed-mindedness produced both the "incomplete integration of the Ruhr mining industry into the national socialist political system" (p. 164) and the subsequent smooth absorption of the industry into the European Coal and Steel Community.

In making this case, Gillingham says little about the much-debated role of industry in Hitler's accession or about "Aryanization" but much of interest about the use of forced labor and several topical issues. With regard to the putative domestic political crisis facing the Nazi regime in 1938–39, he finds ample evidence of an impasse in foreign trade and supplies of industrial raw materials but few signs of workers' disloyalty, either then or later: "neither employers nor employees resisted" (p. 32), and, in 1938, rates of sickness and absenteeism in the mines were no higher than in 1929 (p. 56). According to Gillingham, Ruhr coal industrialists were too interested in stability and too contented with their pre-war international cartel arrangements to have egged on Nazi expansionism.

In general, Gillingham states his main and subsidiary points with clarity and verve. Some technical descriptions are, however, overcompressed and therefore probably difficult to follow for a reader

unfamiliar with corporate negotiations and processes of production. Similarly, the important rise and fall of Paul Walter in 1939–41 as government regulator of the Ruhr coal industry is examined too briefly. There are also minor or tangential errors of fact and interpretation. Gillingham exaggerates the differences between the behavior of the Ruhr industrialists and that of IG Farben. That firm's Leuna plant was not at Oppau, which is near Ludwigshafen on the Rhine, but in central Germany near Merseburg (p. 20). The ZAV system of export promotion was not "self assessed" by industries or firms but was pegged by the regime to each corporation's volume of domestic sales (p. 34). The system of Labor Trustees was established in June 1933, not May 1934, and only the original group consisted almost entirely of "former legal experts of employer organizations," not the new appointees of March 1934 (p. 40). Here Gillingham's account suffers from inattention to Avraham Barkai's excellent *Das Wirtschaftssystem des Nationalsozialismus* (1977), which does not appear in his selected bibliography. "Most" of the people "who actually ran the Four Year Plan" (p. 56) did not come from IG Farben; in fact, not even most of the drafters of the plan did. Further, IG Farben did not receive "no less than 72.7 percent of total Four Year Plan investments" (p. 85); 25 percent is more like the true figure. That the Ruhr profited little from the Four Year Plan (p. 85) may be open to modification in light of Michael Geyer's findings (*Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 45 [1981]), which the author does not cite. Finally, like other writers on German synthetic fuel policy, Gillingham is unnecessarily perplexed that more plants using the Ruhr's Fischer-Tropsch process of production were not built during the Third Reich. He ascribes this to the presence of strong political pressures behind the competing hydrogenation process and thus overlooks the answer to the riddle that he already has provided: "Fischer-Tropsch did not yield aviation fuel" (p. 52), which was the decisive concern of the man who headed both the Four Year Plan and the Air Ministry, Hermann Goering.

But none of these quibbles are debilitating, and most of them arise out of defects in the background literature on which Gillingham had to rely. His book is a major advance on all previous studies of industry in the twelve-year Reich and merits close and wide attention.

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MARIE-LUISE RECKER, *National-sozialistische Sozialpolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg*. (Studien zur Zeitgeschichte, number 29.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1985. Pp. 325. DM 58.

In seeking to explain how social policy contributed to the maintenance of the Nazi home front during World War II, the author of this formidable, painstaking, but somewhat flawed, *Habilitationsschrift* provides a welcome corrective to the exaggerated concern with working-class resistance that the literature now reflects. Marie-Luise Recker rejects the provocative hypothesis that Hitler launched World War II to prevent the impending political and economic collapse of the Third Reich. Denying that factory workers sabotaged the production process in any significant way, she emphasizes that sheer physical exhaustion, aggravated by the general hardships of war, was to blame for the poor state of employee morale.

The obstacles to a more complete mobilization, as she repeatedly demonstrates, were institutional. They included conflicts between labor offices, clashes over priorities—between stable national finances and maximum armaments output—and, above all, Hitler's reluctance to impose measures painful to National Socialism's *Mittelstand* sensibilities, even when necessary for the survival of the Reich. Recker concludes that these things impeded effective mobilization of female labor, encouraged the recruitment of foreign slave labor, permitted the survival of numerous inefficient small- and medium-sized factories, and perpetuated the misallocation of labor that was the real source of Germany's wartime economic woes.

Recker fails, however, to answer her guiding questions convincingly. Did Nazi *Sozialpolitik* stabilize the home front, work as a motor of modernization, and influence developments in postwar Germany? These issues are lost in the narrative, which shifts erratically between concerns with wages, labor supply, and diverse aspects of social planning—vocational training, health and disability insurance, pensions, and housing. Her treatment is also not governed by a sense of proportion. Although she faithfully traces policy disputes of interest only to the bureaucrats involved (devoting, for instance, ten pages to “further measures to simplify withholding from wages and standardize insurance rates” in the final months of the war), she often comes up short on subjects of fundamental interest, such as the politically risky rehousing of refugees and air raid victims. Here one would like to know whether the policy adopted, which Reich Labor Leader Robert Ley devised, was sensible, whether under the conditions then obtaining it can be considered to have been successful, how it compared to policies adopted elsewhere (for instance, in Britain), and whether alternatives were available. Instead, one learns only that it was vexed by shortages of building materials, placed heavy strains on local financing authorities, and, in general, could not adequately fulfill the demand for emergency housing.

To arrive at the answers Recker sought will require far broader and more rigorous approaches than hers. Statistics are startlingly absent from her discussion, which vitiates the book's central argument that misallocation, rather than scarcity of resources, was the cause of the wartime labor shortages. Moreover, an analysis restricted to policy, which, as she readily admits, is always a poor guide to realities in the Third Reich, has limited value. Finally, merely to deny, as she does, that the social policy of the Third Reich left a legacy does not suffice; this matter must be critically examined on a case-to-case basis.

Recker must not be unfairly attacked for having failed to provide the last word on Nazi social policy during the war but should be thanked for having opened up the subject for others to pursue at greater length. Her book is important and surely will soon be recognized as such.

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ULRICH REUSCH. *Deutsches Berufsbeamtentum und britische Besatzung: Planung und Politik 1943–1947*. (Forschungen und Quellen zur Zeitgeschichte, number 6.) Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta. 1985. Pp. 419.

Ulrich Reusch's study of British efforts in their zone to reform the structure and the spirit of the traditional German civil service (*Beamtentum*) is the latest piece of research on occupied Germany. Essentially, Reusch chronicles the frustration of the occupier's initiatives in one area of German life. The heart of his thesis consists of four questions: What were British views on the existing officialdom of their zone? How did they intend to change it? To what degree was cultural imperialism inherent in their proposals? And, finally, what chance did the British have of reaching their goals, and to what extent did the Germans themselves thwart such hopes?

The occupiers saw the civil service as a closed caste, which was little affected in structure by the Nazi era and stood above the German people. The British objective as stated by the chief political adviser in Berlin was “the inculcation, by precept and example of the doctrine that the civil servant is . . . the servant and not the master of the people” (p. 86). Therefore, party political activity was to be forbidden to them. They were to become, in the words of the main British political directive, “the nonpolitical servant of the . . . representatives of the people” (p. 157). A further element in such democratization was the decentralization of the hierarchical civil service to prevent its reemergence as a national caste.

Reusch has little difficulty in documenting the cultural imperialism inherent in this approach; much thought was taken directly from manuals on the training of the civil service in Britain. Moreover, the leading reformer on the occupation staff, Harold Ingrams, had a background in colonial administration. One of his colleagues told Reusch in a 1979 interview that Ingrams "tended to treat the Germans as children" (p. 151). This attitude accompanied the absence of any serious attempt to consult with the Germans. As the deputy military governor expressed it, if the responsible minister in London agreed to prohibit party activity by German officials, he would tell the Germans that it was henceforth British policy, and so "the debate on the matter was closed" (p. 303).

Yet he was badly wrong in this assumption; although the authorities in Berlin issued a directive in the middle of 1946 in line with the above goals, the Foreign Office had already decided to end direct rule rapidly and institute "the policy of Germanisation" as the minister for Germany called it. Reusch differs from some other historians in suggesting that the cold war had little to do with this change of course. In any event, cultural imperialism was done for; once the Germans had control over possible reforms the occupiers had lost the power to influence the future civil service.

In sum, the British had missed an opportunity to restructure an important aspect of German life along lines they considered desirable in the democratization of the country. Reusch insists that the difficulties they had encountered lay in their own errors rather than in German resistance. In fact, he almost certainly underestimates the effectiveness of the blocking tactics that the Germans pursued. In particular, the statement that after Germany's collapse neither its politicians nor its officials were organized enough "to provide significant resistance to the expressed will of the occupying power" (p. 345) appears unlikely, given their ability to do so, for example, over food collection.

Indeed, the author is scathing in his criticism of the Control Commission, once he dismisses German resistance as a factor. "The failure of the British resulted from their own mistakes and omissions" is a fair summary of his argument (p. 375). This formulation unfolds as a series of errors including lack of adequate consultation with the Germans, insufficient planning prior to 1945, the failures of internal bureaucracy of the Control Commission, which delayed all decisions, and a miscalculation of how much time was available. He recognizes, however, the dilemma of the occupiers: how can anyone impose democracy? If the British failed to solve that problem, it was because it was insoluble.

Reusch has given us a valuable addition to the history of Germany under occupation; with a subject index it would have been better still.

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MARIO KÖNIG *et al.* *Warten und Aufrücken: Die Angestellten in der Schweiz 1870–1950*. Zurich: Chronos. 1985. Pp. 644. Cloth 68 FR, paper 48 FR.

In recent years a number of important studies of European salaried employees have appeared. Mario König and the other contributors have now submitted a detailed analysis of the social, economic, political, and organizational behavior of Swiss salaried employees between 1870 and 1950. Their book is especially valuable because four different groups of employees are presented: commercial and managerial employees, technicians, sales personnel (mostly women), and foremen. The introduction and summary are the result of common efforts. In their respective contributions the authors deal with the creation of modern salaried employees during the process of industrialization. For each group of employees the work system, education and training, social position, social mobility, salary, work hours, job security, life style, and organizational behavior are analyzed. Special emphasis is placed on new jobs that were created as the result of the tremendous growth of industrial-capitalist society. Thus, two of the authors deal extensively with the growth of the chemical, electrical, and machine-building industries. But trade, banking, and the insurance business are covered as well. Their study is based on extensive use of state and company archives as well as rich materials from employees' organizations. One hundred fifteen tables, four charts, and thirty-seven illustrations offer a wealth of information.

Of the many important results of this remarkable study only a few can be mentioned. The authors prove that a connection exists between company growth, specialization, and the creation of new jobs. As is the case with rationalization, however, specialization did not in general lead to dequalification, loss of professional and social status, or opposition to the work system. Attitudes toward new developments depended on social status and group affiliation. The study shows further that, although the job market for technicians and foremen was favorable until World War I, fewer job opportunities existed for commercial clerks. Beginning in the early 1920s, unemployment—although low in comparison to other European countries—became a common problem for all groups of employees. This may also have been the reason for changes in organizational behavior. Employees' organizations have a long tradition in Switzerland. Although certain groups and

branches formed professional organizations and interest groups, others—because of age, sex, or status—were less successful. Better-paid employees with managerial functions were the best organized. By the early 1920s the organizations of salaried employees changed more and more from professional organizations to unions that dealt with professional as well as social and economic demands. Although these unions sometimes cooperated with the unions of blue collar workers, the social and cultural distance between workers and most employees prevented the creation of a common front against employers.

In general, the authors have greatly enhanced our knowledge of the social, economic, and organizational behavior of Swiss salaried employees. They prove conclusively that salaried employees did not develop a consciousness of their own but basically remained a heterogeneous group.

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JÜRGEN FINK. *Die Schweiz aus der Sicht des Dritten Reiches 1933–1945: Einschätzung und Beurteilung der Schweiz durch die oberste deutsche Führung seit der Machtergreifung Hitlers; Stellenwert des Kleinstaates Schweiz im Kalkül der nationalsozialistischen Exponenten in Staat, Diplomatie, Wehrmacht, SS, Nachrichtendiensten und Presse*. Zurich: Schulthess Polygraphischer. 1985. Pp. vii, 249.

The fall of France in June 1940 left small, neutral Switzerland nearly encircled by the Axis powers. Its occupation by Germany appeared a significant possibility; indeed, the German army prepared a plan for such an action, code-named Operation Tannenbaum. The Reich never attacked its neighbor, however, and Switzerland, one of the most fortunate European countries during the war, successfully retained its territorial and political independence. This study, which focuses on why Germany allowed that to happen, adds to the other scholarship on the subject by Daniel Bourgeois, Hans Rudolf Fuhrer, Werner Rings, and Christian Vetsch. Based on extensive research in German political, diplomatic, and military records, Jürg Fink's book emphasizes the view—not original with this work—that Nazi leaders realized Germany stood to gain more from a peaceful and neutral Switzerland than from one forcibly conquered by, and hostile to, the Reich.

Fink persuasively argues that Hitler, even before the war, acknowledged that a neutral Switzerland could help relieve Germany of problems along its southern border. The Führer did not order the invasion of Switzerland in 1940 not because of alleged military risks but because of Germany's

"political-economic interests" (p. 24). The longer the war lasted, the more important armaments became for the Reich. Already by the beginning of 1941 preparations for the German invasion of Russia preoccupied Hitler and required the acceleration of military production. He acknowledged the value of Swiss supplies of precision instruments and materials for armaments for Germany, of transit through the Swiss Alps of German coal to Italy, and of Switzerland's position as a mediator between the belligerents in the war. Although Hitler eventually intended to incorporate Switzerland into his New Order, Germany's increasing military problems in the east against the Red Army and the spread of German forces throughout Europe to North Africa prevented the Nazis from settling the Swiss question.

Fink shows that although the usual confused mass of Nazi agencies and personalities implemented German policy toward Switzerland they generally agreed with Hitler's view. The need for Swiss deliveries of industrial goods and raw materials to Germany resulted in Joseph Goebbels's toleration of the anti-German Swiss press. Joachim von Ribbentrop's assuring Switzerland of its neutrality, and the effort by Nazi espionage groups (Sicherheitsdienst, Abwehr) to spy on Switzerland but avoid political conflicts with it over such activities. Heinrich Himmler hoped that, for racial reasons, Switzerland could be included peacefully in the Reich. Fink provides further proof of the antidemocratic and pro-Nazi views of Ernst von Weizsäcker, the German minister to Switzerland (1933–36) and later state secretary in the foreign ministry, and the ambiguous attitudes of his successor in Bern, Otto Köcher.

Despite its sound research and presentation, the book has a few minor flaws. For instance, Switzerland was never at "the center of German strategy" (p. 150); nor should the author have expressed surprise that the foreign ministry's intentions toward Jews and Freemasons in Switzerland, once Germany controlled its neighbor at the end of a victorious war, approximated "SS methods" (p. 159).

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ROBERT BLACK. *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. xv, 367. \$49.50.

The biographer of Benedetto Accolti faces a formidable challenge. Although Accolti was chancellor of Florence and a leading humanist, he did not leave behind the sources that the other great chancellors provided. He published no epistolary, had no extensive correspondence with other humanists, wrote

no family memoirs, and had no contemporary biographer. Furthermore, he died shortly after finishing his two main works, the history of the First Crusade and the dialogue on the famous men of his age, cutting short much of the commentary and discourse that might have arisen from those works. By diligent study of archival material, Robert Black has overcome these limitations to reconstruct the historical context of Accolti's career, shedding light on important aspects of fifteenth-century Tuscany, and recreating the milieu within which Accolti wrote his major works.

Some parts of this biography, especially the chapters on the chancery, are outstanding. Black clearly shows the deterioration in chancery administration under Poggio Bracciolini and the political context within which Accolti was appointed. He also includes a historical survey of the chancellors' functions that makes clear the office was more limited than is commonly thought. The chancellor wrote state letters to other governments, administered diplomatic affairs, recorded the *pratiche*, and was part of the scrutiny process. His activity in all these areas, however, was strictly administrative and involved no decision making or policy formulation. The only exception to these limitations was Leonardo Bruni, whose political activity and officeholding came late in his career and were independent of his status as chancellor. Turning to Accolti's own chancellorship, the author shows his administrative and stylistic reforms as part of a trend going back to Bruni. He also provides interesting insights into the complex relationship with the Medici and adduces documents that show Accolti soliciting advice while retaining his independence of action.

The work also contains interesting material on Florence's participation in fifteenth-century crusading diplomacy as part of the background to Accolti's work on the First Crusade. The material on Arezzo and on the Accolti family is less complete and satisfying. The author makes some important suggestions about the continuance of Arezzo's intellectual tradition, particularly concerning the reopening of the university, but leaves the matter unresolved and promises to treat it in a future book. The chapter on the family makes little use of recent conceptual work on Tuscan families such as that of David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber.

Accolti's two major works are extensively treated. The author rightly interprets them as works of rhetoric, but the analysis suffers from an overly narrow conception of rhetoric. He tends to focus on rhetorical forms and tropes and regards the dialogue as part of a tradition of comparing ancients and moderns and of lives of famous men going back to classical writers. Although this is doubtless true, such scholars as Erwin Panofsky and Hans Baron

have shown that changes in the structure and values of these rhetorical arguments tell us much about the basic realities of Renaissance consciousness. They cannot be profitably approached as simple rhetorical exercises, illustrating the writers' ability to argue on both sides of an issue. Similarly, in treating the history of the Crusades, the author understands that Accolti has a different approach to historical fact from his own but misses much of the subtlety of the relation between factuality and probability that obtained in the Renaissance. Despite these limitations, the author has intelligently identified the originality of Accolti's historical approach to the church and has traced this interpretation through both of his major works.

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PIERRE HURTUBISE. *Une famille-témoin: Les Salviati*. (Studi e Testi, number 309.) Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. 1985. Pp. 527.

Having published the correspondence of Anton Maria Salviati, papal nuncio in France from 1572 to 1578, Pierre Hurtubise is well qualified to write a history of the Salviati. He has gathered abundant evidence from archives in Rome and Florence, and he has read the historical literature on Italy from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The conceptual insight he weds to this documentary expertise is, however, disappointingly conventional. In his hands the Salviati prove "witness" perhaps less to history than to what historians have said.

By 1350, when the surname Salviati first appears, they were a solid clan of newcomers, active in the Florentine wool industry and in law and medicine—on a par with such families as the Medici, Strozzi, and Acciaiuoli. The Salviati became politically prominent thanks to Jacopo (1360–1412) and his son Alamanno (1389–1456) and thanks to their firm ties to the Medici. Close kinship and other relations with the Medici were a political mainstay for the Salviati, although the Medici did not always foster their ambitions. Salviati fortunes remained firmly linked to the Medici despite the implication of Francesco di Bernardo, archbishop of Pisa, and Jacopo di Jacopo in the Pazzi Conspiracy and despite Salviati support for Savonarola. In the wake of the Medici papacy of Leo X, Jacopo di Giovanni Salviati (1461–1533) moved his household to Rome, where its fortunes rested on the grant of the salt monopoly for the Papal States. Procurement of a cardinal's hat for a male in each generation solidified the position of the Roman branch.

Hurtubise faithfully describes the intellectual interests of the lawyers and humanists in the family and religious and artistic activities. He uses the



unparalleled Florentine archival resources to chart Salviati business investments and the purchase and management of rural estates. He finds that the Roman branch, more so than the Florentine, was caught up in an aristocratic transfer of wealth to the land. He also investigates household composition and inheritance practices shifting in the direction of fideicommissary primogeniture.

Like a kindly confessor, Hurtubise recognizes the Salviatis' sins but readily absolves them. The sexual escapades of Giuliano di Francesco and his companion Duke Alessandro de' Medici are quickly balanced against the devotion of other Salviati for Santa Caterina de' Ricci. Assumption and use of ecclesiastical benefices as an extension of familial property is countered by reference to the decoration of chapels. Hurtubise is too close to his subjects to be objective. He accepts the Salviatis' view of themselves—a familial ideology, shared with contemporaries, that a lineage was an objective reality enduring through time in the male line. The agent in the events he depicts is not so much individual Salviati as the Salviati. When, for example, he finds different households on opposite sides politically, he ascribes this not to conflicts or differing interests but to solidarity and a lineage-enhancing strategy of not "putting all the eggs into one basket" (p. 86). In fact, the distinctness of interests between branches kept the entire lineage from being scuttled by the Pazzi Conspiracy.

In no way does Hurtubise doubt, question, or probe behind the ideology of lineage. Women are almost forgotten members of the family, mentioned only occasionally as mothers and almost never as wives, as are children of both sexes. The numbers of servants are taken as indicative of wealth and aristocratic pretensions, but we are provided with neither an attempt to unravel their lives and relations with their masters nor sustained discussion of employees, apprentices, or *mezzadri* on family estates. Yet, if only the questions were put to them, the numerous letters and account books would yield some information on these matters. In Hurtubise's lens we encounter the Salviati only in the halls of power and their *palazzi* and *ville*. They serve indeed as witness to the public history of male elites, but they could have been cross-examined more pointedly.

THOMAS KUEHN  
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GIORGIO ROSSI. *L'agro di Roma '500 e '800: Condizioni di vita e lavoro*. Foreword by MASSIMO PETROCCHI. (Biblioteca di storia sociale, number 19.) Rome: Storia e Letteratura. 1985. Pp. 310.

The Roman countryside, as noted by many travelers from the sixteenth century onward, was a sickly region whose peasants lived in squalor. Visitors were struck by the contrast between the poverty of the country and the opulence of Rome. The city was, of course, the destination of their travels. Although Rome has traditionally been the focus of historical studies, Giorgio Rossi is one of a growing number of scholars who have chosen to concentrate on agriculture and peasant life in the Roman countryside. His conclusion, in common with that of other studies, is that the very wealth of Rome impoverished the countryside.

Rossi focuses on the lowest class of agricultural workers, the *monelli*, who were responsible for hoeing and weeding the fields. Their work was unspecialized and less physically demanding than ploughing or harvesting. Thus, the *monelli* were often very young. Some were old; others were children. Both males and females were recruited as *monelli*. They were paid the lowest wages and received worse treatment than other agricultural workers, and their conditions did not appreciably improve until the late nineteenth century.

Information about the *monelli* comes mainly from reports by ecclesiastical officials who were appalled at the treatment of these workers. Monsignor Tomati, an apostolic visitor, produced a report in 1660 describing, in the strongest terms, the victimization of the *monelli*. He was horrified that they were often forcibly recruited and were herded by armed guards in virtual chain gangs. He noted their youth, their poor living conditions, and the immorality arising from the mixing of all ages and sexes.

His report created a dilemma for ecclesiastical officials. All the great landowners, including the church, needed these workers. Given the low wages, volunteers were difficult to find. The majority opinion was that it was better to let the overseers do an unpleasant but necessary job to keep the landowners happy and costs down. More than one hundred years after Tomati's report, Cardinal Carlo Rezzonico described the same abuses with the same tone of horror and incredulity. His report, issued in 1776, had no impact on the problem. The rural clergy were impotent; dependent on the landowners for their positions, they could only turn away from the miserable gangs of *monelli*.

Rossi gives an excellent survey of literature on the *monelli*. He breaks new ground by analyzing origins of the tactics of forced recruitment. His study of the origins of the *monelli* is exemplary, based on private and public archives. He clearly describes the mechanism of their enslavement. Recruited by force or with false promises, the *monelli* were paid at low rates. They had to buy their food and clothes at inflated rates. Since they inevitably fell into debt, they could be forced to work season after season.

Given their poor living conditions and the unhealthy climate of the region, many fell sick and died. Rossi is particularly effective in presenting data on care of the sick. In the eighteenth century the hospital of S. Spirito, an institution funded to care for sick *monelli*, budgeted 3.30 scudi a month to feed the sick. It budgeted 43.05 scudi a month to feed the horses that transported the sick to Rome.

This is indeed a fascinating study, although the author does not fully explore every aspect of the subject. More could be said about the overseers and their critical role. Other classes of agricultural workers could be examined in more detail than Rossi provides. The fortunes of landowners and their political impact could be more closely studied. The author's originality and solid research, however, ensure that such work will be done.

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ELEANOR SELFRIDGE-FIELD. *Pallade veneta: Writings on Music in Venetian Society, 1650–1750*. (Studi musicologici, Saggi di ricerca documentaria, number 1.) Venice: Fondazione Levi. 1985. Pp. xxxix, 417.

By publishing judiciously selected extracts from the periodical *Pallade veneta*, Eleanor Selfridge-Field has opened up a rich mine of information about seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Venetian cultural activities and about the musicians, poets, artists, and patrons who figured in them. At first, between January 1687 and May 1688, the periodical was printed; then, in 1698, the title was taken over for a manuscript newsheet that continued to appear until 1751. Save for a few isolated references, the resource has remained unused by historians, even those specializing in the arts, for whom it holds the greatest potential.

This journal has not been exploited in part because the seventeen printed installments survive not in Venice, where one is most likely to look for material on that “most serene republic,” but in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena. On the other hand the manuscript copies of the early journal's namesake survive mainly in Venetian libraries and archives, but no complete run of it exists anywhere, and finding the issues was a triumph of archival technique and perseverance.

*Pallade veneta*, like the *avvisi* that originated in other cities, was directed at readers outside Venice and fed the network of ambassadors and agents who needed to know the comings and goings of princely visitors and to follow events such as weddings, funerals, regattas, festivals, and entertainments. Because Venice was the world capital of opera, many

of the events reported—74 percent—were the latest operas, pridefully described in glowing terms, sometimes with multipage plot summaries and descriptions of scenery and music, occasionally even including the music of an aria or two.

Selfridge-Field's ninety-one-page introduction is an important contribution to the history of cultural journalism. She locates the *Pallade* in the genre of *avvisi* “that emphasized the movements of politically important persons and sometimes mentioned cultural activities that reflected their glory” (p. 30). She did not neglect any thorny and winding research paths to identify those persons and manifestations, as well as authors, dedicatees, and the titles of secular and sacred works.

Almost half of the documents edited in part 2 of the book are extracts from the printed issues of *Pallade veneta* from 1687 to 1688. These include full descriptions of operas, oratorios, cantatas, and sacred works performed during seventeen months of those years. The extracts from the manuscript issues are briefer and less rich in detail; the journal had obviously become more of a diplomatic newsletter. Both journals, however, are invaluable in animating the perpetual Venetian carnival with people.

In addition to transcriptions from the *Pallade veneta*, Selfridge-Field includes an extensive appendix of parallel documents from other periodicals, particularly articles pertaining to Venetian opera in *Mercure galant*, later known as *Mercure de France*. All of the texts are carefully edited and annotated. The Italian documents seem to be very accurately transcribed and printed; Selfridge-Field retains archaic spellings but modernizes paragraphing, accents, capitalization and substitutes modern *v* for *u*, *i* for *j*, and the like. The extracts from *Mercure galant*, which I could check against the original, were not so faithfully represented, mostly owing, I suspect, to printer's errors. Accents, words, and even a paragraph are missing, and words are misspelled. Fortunately, most of these errors are obvious and do not affect the meaning.

This book was a labor of love on the part of the author-editor and publisher. It is handsomely printed, bound, and illustrated and is full of helpful indexes, tables, and bibliography. Selfridge-Field has done a great service to students of *le cose di Venezia* by publishing highlights of this forgotten journal.

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ELENA AGA-ROSSI. *L'Italia nella sconfitta: Politica interna e situazione internazionale durante la seconda guerra mondiale*. Foreword by RENZO DE FELICE. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1985. Pp. 485.

This book is a lucid contribution to a clearer understanding of Italian politics during World War II. Elena Aga-Rossi, who is perhaps Italy's outstanding specialist on wartime relations with the Allies and on the ensuing cold war, has spent much time since the 1970s working in American, British, and Italian archives. She has brought together here six essays, supported by numerous documents, that were written in the 1970s and 1980s.

The first and third discuss American and British foreign policy toward Italy during the war. Although U.S. propaganda was more ideological and anti-Fascist than Britain's, the Americans did not, for the most part, object to the more clearly defined proposals for Italy that the British drew up.

In the chapter "American-Vatican Relations during the War" the author focuses on the three missions of Myron Taylor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "personal representative" to the Vatican (February 1940, September 1941, September 1942). The Vatican made it clear that it favored a monarchical solution to Fascist Italy's crisis. Because the Vatican distrusted the anti-Fascist exiles, the State Department issued a directive on the eve of the invasion of Sicily that no exiles should be given administrative posts in occupied territory.

Another essay analyzes, on the basis of Allied documentation, the political and economic situation of Italy during the two weak governments of Ivanoe Bonomi (June 1944–May 1945). Aga-Rossi is critical of the Allies for their unwillingness to grant more autonomy to the Italian government.

The author's most pioneering research is presented in the fifth chapter, "The Allies and the Resistance in Italy," which draws on recently released Allied documents. She rejects the standard interpretation of left-wing Italian writers who have accused the conservative Allies of sinisterly seeking to eliminate the resistance movement in the autumn and winter of 1944–45. Aga-Rossi points out that these writers have failed to analyze how the changing international military situation in these months influenced Allied policy making toward the Resistance. Allied supply commitments to Tito's Partisans always had priority over aid to the Italian Resistance, and from November to December 1944 the British command in Italy was preparing plans (later canceled) for an invasion through Istria and Slovenia that would require more help from the Yugoslavs. The author clarifies the complex political and military dimensions of Allied decisionmaking. She also stresses the pervasive fear by the British, after December 1944, that the kind of civil war that was raging in liberated Greece might also occur in Italy. This led to the directive of February 4, 1945, that called for reducing the delivery of certain kinds of offensive weapons into some sectors of northern

Italy. Many Allied commanders ignored this directive, she notes.

The final essay, "The United States and the Division of Europe," calls attention to ambiguities in Roosevelt's thinking about the postwar restructuring of Europe and emphasizes the responsibility of the events of September and October 1944 for the division of Europe.

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GIAMPAOLO VALDEVIT. *La questione di Trieste 1941–1954: Politica internazionale e contesto locale*. (Collana dell'Istituto nazionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione in Italia, new series, number 9.) Milan: Franco Angeli. 1986. Pp. 279. L. 24,000.

Giampaolo Valdevit discusses the question of Trieste from a new angle. He tries to ascertain how the cold war influenced British-American policy toward the Julian Region and later toward the Free Territory of Trieste (FTT) and how local events affected the British and especially the American policy of containment. The first part of the book describes the period from March 1941 until June 1945, when the Yugoslav military forces had to retreat from Trieste behind a new demarcation line dividing the disputed Julian Region into two zones: Zone A, including the city of Trieste, administered by the British-American Allied Military Government (AMG), and Zone B, administered by the Yugoslav military administration. The book's first section presents the necessary background for understanding its second part, which treats the central problem: the cold war. This section covers the period from the establishment of the AMG in Zone A in June 1945 to the break between Tito and the Cominform in June 1948. After the expulsion of Tito's Yugoslavia from the Soviet block, the cold war ended for the United States and Great Britain as far as Yugoslavia and Zone A of the FTT were concerned. The readjustment of British-American policy from the containment of the cold war to the encouragement of an agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia was, however, gradual. The third part gives a condensed review of this reorientation leading to the division of the FTT between Yugoslavia and Italy in 1954.

In his introduction Valdevit recognized his indebtedness to American revisionist and postrevisionist writers on the cold war. In his research Valdevit used primarily the unpublished material deposited in the Public Records Office in London and in the National Archives in Washington. Although not everyone will agree with Valdevit's application of cold-war theory, one must nevertheless

congratulate him on his exhaustive research and use of new archival material.

The problem with the work is simple. Scholars can ascertain with greater or lesser certainty the beginnings and the developments of cold-war policy of containment in the United States and Great Britain, but they can only guess what role the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia played—their archives are still closed. Until scholars can use the Soviet and East European archival material, any analysis of the cold war will remain one sided. And the present book also suffers from this weakness. Moreover, one wonders why the author did not use the available Yugoslav printed sources and the relatively rich Yugoslav memoir literature. Finally, the book concentrates on one issue, the cold war, and therefore leaves some other forces that shaped the problem of Trieste in the background. Without doubt, the ethnic situation, nationalism, and ideology played equally important, if not greater, roles than did the cold war. They were present before the beginning of the cold war—as the author was quite aware in his first section—and they remained a primary concern after Yugoslav expulsion from the Communist bloc, as the author indicated in the last part of his book.

BOGDAN C. NOVAK  
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GABOR VERMES. *István Tisza: The Liberal Vision and Conservative Statecraft of a Magyar Nationalist*. (East European Monographs, number 184.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1985. Pp. xii, 627. \$50.00.

On October 17, 1918 István Tisza, the dominant Hungarian statesman of the early twentieth century, rose in parliament and spoke the most famous words of his career: "We have lost the War!" Two weeks later Tisza was dead, assassinated in his home by irate revolutionary soldiers. Thus came to an end one of the most remarkable political careers in recent East European history. Tisza was one of the most feared and hated statesmen of his time. Francis Ferdinand called him a "filthy piece of cattle." To Endre Ady, the great Hungarian poet, he was a "madman." Yet the list of Tisza's admirers and supporters included Francis Joseph and Marshal Hindenburg, and, at the height of his power in the first years of World War I, Tisza was regarded by observers all over Europe as the dominant political figure in the Habsburg empire.

Given Tisza's important place in European history, he has received surprisingly little attention from historians. The last book-length study of Tisza appeared a half century ago. This new book by Gabor Vermes thus fills a significant gap in Hungar-

ian historiography. Vermes approaches his subject in a balanced and admirably dispassionate manner. The result is not only a probing study of an intriguing statesman but a careful analysis of political affairs in the last three decades of the Dual Monarchy.

Perhaps the dominant factor in István Tisza's career was the tenacity with which he clung to certain basic principles and policies. An unwavering dedication to Magyar nationalism and the supremacy of the gentry and aristocracy in Hungary created in him a sense of mission that made him virtually immune to criticism and uninterested in a search for consensus through political bargaining. A "fortress mentality" was a characteristic of his entire career. Tisza firmly believed that the *Ausgleich* of 1867 and Austria-Hungary's alliance with Germany were the guarantees of the preservation of Greater Hungary. Vermes emphasizes, however, that the word "Liberal" in the party over which he presided was not simply an "empty label." Like his father, Kálmán Tisza, the younger Tisza attempted to maintain a precarious balance between "liberal tolerance and limited authoritarianism" (p. 168). Thus, although elections were generally rigged, opposition groups still managed to gain a political voice in parliament and the press. Similarly, although Tisza strongly opposed the socialists and the call for an expanded suffrage, he never contemplated using the power of the state to neutralize or destroy the progressive movement. His liberalism was perhaps most clearly evident in his strong opposition to the nascent anti-Semitic movement and the key role he played in the forging of an alliance between the Hungarian political establishment and the community of assimilated Jews.

Vermes offers important new insights into many other aspects of Tisza's career. He adds a new perspective to the familiar picture of Tisza as the intolerant Magyar nationalist insolently brandishing his whip in his dealings with leaders of the Hungary's national minorities. True, Tisza opposed expansion of the franchise in large part because it would increase the representation of the ethnic minorities in parliament. He also suffered from the delusion that the Croats, Romanians, and Slovaks of Hungary were basically happy and content and that trouble was artificially created by self-appointed radical nationalist leaders. Yet Vermes convincingly argues that Tisza was, by Hungarian standards, relatively moderate in the nationalist question. He believed that the Magyar state should display its strength not by oppressing the minorities but by treating them in a lawful and generous fashion. Tisza opposed the efforts to deny the minorities the right to cultivate their languages and cultures. During World War I he tried, in vain, to reduce abuses against non-Magyars at the local level. In the end,

Tisza's relative moderation had no impact, since his insistence that Magyar political supremacy not be challenged clashed with the growing desire of the national minorities to determine their own political destinies.

Students of European history are well served by Vermes's excellent study. Meticulously researched, well-written, and full of important insights, this book will long remain the definitive treatment of the career of István Tisza.

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AUDREY KURTH CRONIN. *Great Power Politics and the Struggle over Austria, 1945–1955*. (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs). Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1986. Pp. 219. \$29.95.

A large number of books in German and English have appeared on the ten-year Allied and Soviet quadripartite occupation of Austria, on the 1955 State Treaty and the neutrality it established, and on the seemingly endless tug-of-war over Austria between the Soviets and the Western powers. Audrey Kurth Cronin's discussion of this drawn-out diplomatic struggle between the Great Powers since 1945 is a competent account, set against the background of the dire need to reestablish Austria's independence and of the numerous crises of the cold war and the Korean and Indochinese wars.

Western claims to have consistently sought an Austrian treaty were "not entirely true." The United States, in particular, entertained "secret misgivings" about signing a treaty with Austria and feared that Austria would be militarily defenseless against Soviet encroachments and later that a treaty of neutrality would "seriously complicate NATO defense planning" (pp. 165–66). Cronin holds that, aside from what she calls "haggling" between the "bureaucracies" of the State and Defense Departments, frequent disagreements among the Allies, occasionally divided opinions among Austrians themselves, and conflicting strategic and economic interests of East and West caused the frustrating procrastination. She places primary blame, however, on the Soviets' intransigence and "continued oppression" of Austria (p. 164). The Russian turn-about under Krushchev, who wanted to initiate an East-West detente, signified an important ideological shift—the acceptance of neutrality beyond the communist commonwealth. On the defensive in Europe, the Soviet Union hoped to convince West Germany that neutrality was the only road to German reunification. Cronin even believes that Moscow also thought that the reversal of its obstructionist Austrian policy would produce a favorable image in the Third World. Generally, she clearly shows the changes in

the strategic situation and the specific interests of the powers and of Austria during the occupation.

The study rests primarily on American and British archival sources. Although some of them are new, the reader will find no novel or startling conclusions. Regrettably, Cronin uses virtually no foreign-language sources, neither French, Russian, nor German. Some Russian documents appear in translation. Only three books in German on Austria are cited in the bibliography, and among sixty articles none are in German, despite the obvious need for adequately presenting the Austrian point of view. Cronin has interviewed several participants of the final negotiations leading to the state treaty, including Bruno Kreisky, but Kreisky's essay about the Moscow talks is missing. Although Soviet archives apparently are inaccessible, Soviet dailies and journals should have been used. Cronin's interpretations are on the whole sound, but, due to this omission, their credibility is much reduced.

Despite such weaknesses, this study is useful. Readers will wish to supplement it with Manfred Rauchensteiner's *Der Sonderfall: Die Besatzungszeit in Österreich 1945 bis 1955* (1979), which is more detailed on Austria but not on Russian sources.

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KNUD RASMUSSEN. *Ruslands historie idet 16. Århundrede: En forsknings-og kildeoversigt* [Russian History in the Sixteenth Century: A Survey of Research and Sources]. (Problemer i Ruslands og Sovjetunionens historie, number 4.) Copenhagen: Jysk Selskab for Historie. 1985. Pp. 161.

If Knud Rasmussen's book, with suitable minor modifications, were published in a major world language, it (and the others in the same series from the University of Copenhagen's Slavic Institute) would certainly become a standard reference work for scholars the world over. As it is, Scandinavians working in Russian history obtain a long leap forward into the organization and bibliography of their subject matter. The book is not for amateurs; no narrative or chronological framework is provided and a basic vocabulary is assumed. It is spare in other ways as well. Rasmussen makes no claim to absolute completeness, states no theses or conclusions of his own, and deals only with published materials. Together with Svend Aage Christensen's similar work on the seventeenth century, however, this book is probably the best available guide to the major issues of early modern Russian history.

The book is organized around a long list of problems, which are beautifully ordered and described. Obviously not selected according to



Rasmussen's own analysis of Russian history, the problems dealt with have been identified and discussed by generations of historians. Rasmussen touches on all the standard questions raised in connection with demography, ideology, culture, the state system, foreign affairs, and leading personalities. The number and variety of these questions testifies not only to Rasmussen's knowledge of the literature (recent work by Soviet and Western scholars as well as the pioneering efforts of the nineteenth-century greats) but also to the continuing uncertainties in the study of sixteenth-century Russia. The book speaks volumes about the argumentativeness of historians in the field. Rasmussen describes the arguments so even-handedly that one might suppose each viewpoint on each question had equal validity. If the book has a defect, however, it is not in its lack of conclusions but in the perhaps inevitable brevity with which major and complicated theses are presented. Even as controversial a subject as the *oprichnina* receives only about five pages, and in those the author describes, separately, the positions of over a dozen scholars ranging from N. M. Karamzin and V. O. Kliuchevsky through S. F. Platonov, A. A. Zimin, T. I. Smirnov, Alexander Yanov, Robert J. Wipper, and Bjarne Nørretranders.

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E. M. WEBSTER. *The Moon Man: A Biography of Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984. Pp. xxv, 421.

Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay (1846–88) was one of the outstanding explorers, naturalists, and anthropologists of the nineteenth century. Of aristocratic background, he was nevertheless a political liberal. Expelled from Russian schools, he finished his education, ultimately in medicine, at the University of Jena. His greatest fame came from his tireless advocacy of human equality and the rights of the Papuans of New Guinea. In his five years of pioneering field work, his personal qualities so impressed the Papuans that they believed him to be divine, "the Moon Man." Miklouho-Maclay devoted the last decade of his short life to efforts to promote Papuan autonomy under a benign Russian protectorate. The Russian government, however, remained uninterested, and Bismarck's Germany brooked no interference with its colonial seizures. Nevertheless, Miklouho-Maclay was internationally esteemed, by Tolstoy, among others. Almost forgotten in the early twentieth century, he has become an intellectual and political hero in the Soviet Union. The Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences is named for him. His fame has reawak-

ened in Australia in recent decades, the Miklouho-Maclay Society of Australia being formed in 1979.

E. M. Webster's book is a valuable yet somewhat flawed addition to the scanty existing scholarship on Miklouho-Maclay. It is based on a thorough examination of published and, in part, unpublished materials by or devoted to Miklouho-Maclay. It covers the period from 1864, when he arrived in Germany, to the end of his life, in essentially chronological order. The work is well and smoothly written, extensively annotated and illustrated and has a full bibliography. Its major contributions are twofold. By critically and extensively discussing materials revealing the subject's feelings and hopes, as well as the course of events, Webster presents a realistic, human psychological portrait. Furthermore, the work has placed Miklouho-Maclay's achievements, failures, virtues, and limitations in a carefully documented setting of contemporary social and political currents in Europe and Australia. Moreover, Webster has sought to place this record in today's scientific and political context.

Unfortunately, the book also has some weaknesses. The most important is a constant intrusion of the author's semifictional reconstructions of events and even thoughts into authentically reported materials. A striking illustration of such insertions is the following: "Accustomed to outface and outmanoeuvre all kinds of opponents, he could live with any residue of suspicion. Resolve, worthy purpose and a sense of perfect integrity formed his armour. With these, and the self-control that had brought him through the testing time on the Maclay Coast, he could listen to speeches, soothe fears and tolerate attempts to adopt him, never renouncing his determination to thwart colonial greed and save a few islands for Russia" (p. 299).

The volume is exceedingly vague on dates and other humble specifics. Nowhere can one find the date of Miklouho-Maclay's birth, to take only an extreme illustration. His early years are entirely ignored.

Webster's evaluation of Miklouho-Maclay's scientific contribution cannot be viewed as more than provisional. I believe more careful study of his work will justify a higher evaluation. Examination of the primary materials in volume 3 (*Antropologiya i Etnografiya*) of his collected works reveals a remarkable grasp of the comparative ethnology of the Pacific, especially Papuan-Polynesian parallels and customs absent in Melanesia. These include Kava, circumcision, taboo, name exchange, and greeting rituals. His extensive ethnological data on the Maclay Coast, though admittedly weakest in social organization and religion, competently dealt with horticulture, housing, music, and art. They represent permanent scientific contributions.

To summarize, this book is a useful contribution to the few works devoted to a remarkable scientist and humanist. It reveals a complex, contradictory personality. But its intuitive insights must be approached with caution.

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JOSEPH BRADLEY. *Muzhik and Muscovite: Urbanization in Late Imperial Russia*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1985. Pp. xvi. 422. \$37.50.

Joseph Bradley's richly documented study of urbanization in Moscow around the turn of the century focuses on the interaction between peasant migrants in the city's labor force—the muzhik—and urban educated society—Muscovites—who tried to transform them into a modern urban population. Unlike Robert E. Johnson's study, *Peasant and Proletarian* (1979), which focused on factory workers, Bradley's book concentrates not on the classic factory proletarians (who were rare inside the city limits) but, rather, on the broad range of common people in Moscow. The book starts with the contemporary observation that the "streets of Russia are swarming with . . . vagrants, paupers, idlers, parasites, and hooligans" who had to be tamed to make Moscow safe for modern progress (p. 1).

This perspective derives from Bradley's sources, which include popular fiction as well as statistical, administrative, and descriptive accounts of the Moscow poor and the institutions developed to reform them. It is not always clear how closely this Dickensian view of Moscow corresponds to the entire urban experience at the time. Unfortunately, the muzhik is largely mute to the historian, and his experience is inevitably interpreted by statisticians, philanthropists, and popular writers, some of whom may have thanked their lucky stars that they had left the milieu that furnished them with their stories. This perspective from above, from a position of moral as well as social superiority, is most richly documented in the final two chapters of the book, where Bradley describes efforts to tame the common people of Moscow, first through a combination of relief and repression, and, later, toward 1900, through systems of social reform. These chapters are based on exhaustive study of the institutions chosen as illustrative—the foundling home, workhouse, and others.

The first two sections of the book chronicle the experience of the muzhik in Moscow. Part 1 describes the city and its economy with sympathy and a splendid eye for detail; part 2 presents the encounters of the rural migrants with the urban environment. Most provocative is a study of the labor

force and structural change within it, which endeavors to assess the possibilities of mobility for urban laborers, both native and migrant, skilled and unskilled. Given the limitations of the aggregate censuses, the statistical procedure is necessarily cumbersome, but the conclusion that upward mobility was limited ought to stimulate further research and discussion. A final chapter on housing and its impact on family structure rounds out this portrait of lower-class life in burgeoning Moscow. Like many Continental cities, Moscow was not spatially segregated, which perhaps made the preservation of status differentiation all the more imperative for the elite.

This beautifully produced book offers much to savor: a series of compelling photographs complements the textual description; footnotes, bibliography, and statistical documentation are extensive. And this book will stimulate further questions. Just one example: six of the eight chapters prepare the reader for the muzhik's side of the confrontation between muzhik and Muscovite, but much remains to be learned about the values that the educated Muscovite brought to attempts at reform—values that impelled reformers to label some lower-class neighborhoods as "sewers" and their inhabitants as "people who avoid a normal life and regular work" (p. 1). The historian knows that "normality" is in the eye of the beholder.

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V. F. KUT'EV. *Moskovskii "Rabochii soiuz"* [The Moscow "Workers' Union"]. Moscow: Nauka. 1985. Pp. 333. 3 r.

Before a comprehensive history of the Russian revolutionary movement in the late nineteenth century can be written, much more research is needed into the activities of the numerous local revolutionary groups scattered throughout Russia. With the exception of developments in St. Petersburg, surprisingly little is known about revolutionary activity at the grass-roots level. V. F. Kut'ev's monograph on the Moscow Workers' Union, the most thorough study to date of the revolutionary movement in Moscow in the 1890s, is thus a major contribution.

Kut'ev has used virtually all the available sources—including archival documents not consulted by earlier historians of the organization—to trace the history of the Moscow Workers' Union through seven successive stages, from its formation in 1894 to its demise in March 1898. (Kut'ev considers the Moscow Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class the last phase of the Workers' Union.) This study modifies previous conceptions and portrays an extensive organization,

with a sizable contingent of worker-activists, significant influence on the local labor movement, and, as Kut'ev takes pains to make clear, a completely "Leninist" ideology. At its height, the union included over one thousand workers and, at various times, was linked with workers' circles at more than thirty-seven factories and other enterprises. Kut'ev presents data on 239 members of the union's leadership from the working class and the intelligentsia (including age, nationality, social class, family status, education, occupation, and place of work) in informative tables for each of the seven "leadership groups" he identifies. Unfortunately, the book lacks an index of the names and factories mentioned.

The activities of the Moscow Workers' Union illustrate the major shift taking place in the Russian revolutionary movement in the 1890s: the transition from long-range propaganda in small workers' circles to broader agitation concerning current issues affecting workers. Kut'ev links the union (not always entirely convincingly) with the strikes and other manifestations of labor unrest in this period of rapid industrial growth. Two noteworthy aspects of the book are Kut'ev's description of the effect of the massive St. Petersburg textile strike of 1896 on the Moscow labor movement and his discussion of the efforts of the Moscow Okhrana, headed by Sergei Zubatov, to fight the growing labor unrest and revolutionary activity.

This monograph has several weaknesses. Although the author faults earlier studies for skimpy treatment of the later stages of the Moscow Workers' Union, his work is open to the same criticism, though to a lesser extent. Rather irritatingly, Kut'ev shows his adherence to the strictures of Soviet historiography with frequent assertions of Lenin's role in creating and guiding the Moscow Workers' Union, with insufficient supporting evidence. Rather, the evidence presented points to a movement with strong local roots and support. The monograph would have been further strengthened by consideration of the question of links to earlier organizations (for example, the Moscow Brusnev group of the early 1890s) and a fuller comparison with the contemporaneous activity of the Petersburg Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. These criticisms, however, do not detract from the usefulness of this well-researched work that considerably clarifies an important chapter in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement.

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JOHN BUSHNELL, *Mutiny amid Repression: Russian Soldiers in the Revolution of 1905-1906*. (Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European

Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985. Pp. ix, 334.

Readers' appetites for this study were whetted by an article that appeared a few years ago in this journal ("The Tsarist Officer Corps: Customs, Duties, Inefficiency" *AHR*, 86 [1981]). John Bushnell will not disappoint them. He has abundantly proved his main point: that the soldiers' and sailors' mutinies were no mere sideshow but represented the major challenge to the autocracy during the abortive revolution of 1905-06. No less than one-third of all infantry units were affected. Working from records in Moscow archives, he offers an authoritative list of the incidents that occurred and a careful analysis of their causes, nature, and outcome. He shows that violence was relatively rare but also that serious disaffection continued into the summer of 1906, when 202 mutinies were reported—almost as many as in the "days of freedom" in late 1905. Most useful is Bushnell's subtle probing of the men's psychology to explain why their mood was so volatile: soldiers who one day would bravely defy their officers by refusing to shoot at civilian crowds might on the morrow cheerfully engage in a pogrom. As he puts it epigrammatically, "soldiers were most reliable when shooting civilians" (p. 51). The conventional explanation of inadequate "class consciousness" tells us little. The key, Bushnell suggests, lies in the local circumstances in which each unit found itself. Even such a mundane fact as the physical location of a barracks could matter greatly, and soldiers were quick to react if a comrade were hit by a stray civilian bullet and to sense the government's recovery from temporary paralysis. The imperial armed forces had traditionally been kept isolated from civilian influences, and so the men were politically naive. Yet during 1905 their natural monarchism was severely strained, and the subsequent convocation of the state Duma under the leadership of the Kadets provided an alternative focus for their loyalties. In this way the second stage of the movement was less subversive of authority than the first; indeed, the protesters sought to defend the new constitutional arrangements against the threat from the Right. Their main interest of course was social—a radical land reform—for soldiers were drawn overwhelmingly from the peasant milieu and shared their *mentalité*.

Bushnell perhaps overstates this point, but he quite correctly stresses the heavy economic burdens imposed on tsarist soldiers, who had to help feed, clothe, and maintain their unit. Curiously, he does not supply similar background information on the sailors, the most active participants in the revolutionary movement among the armed forces in 1905-06. He plays down the epic affair of the battleship *Prince Potemkin* and barely mentions an-

other celebrated episode, the mutiny at Sevastopol in November staged by Lieutenant Shmidt, later a great hero to the Left. In general, the revolutionary parties get short shrift here for their doctrinaire theorizing, inflexibility, and remoteness from those whom they aspired to lead. They told the troops to wait until the supposedly more "advanced" workers or peasants gave the signal. The indictment is not without substance but strikes me as overdrawn. Bushnell seems to have been carried away by his conviction that, if they had been given their head, the radicalized men in uniform could have overthrown the tsarist regime. This conclusion seems unlikely. Those activists in military organizations, mainly Socialist Revolutionaries, who followed their instincts instead of restraining their men do not appear to have had significantly more success; moreover, the experience of 1917 suggests that only coordinated action, under civilian leadership, could have effectively eroded the army's command structure. Such a development would not necessarily have been in Russia's best interests. Bushnell's assertion that the tsarist government rested solely on naked force is naive—even though the administration acted brutally in suppressing the mutinies: some of the volume's most harrowing passages are devoted to the "punitive expeditions." More needs to be known about the operation of the reformed military-judicial system to set this repression in perspective. Nonetheless, Bushnell deserves to be congratulated for this original, intelligent, and well-researched contribution to the literature on the revolution of 1905–06.

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TADEUSZ SWIETOCHOWSKI. *Russian Azerbaijan, 1905–1920: The Shaping of National Identity in a Muslim Community*. (Soviet and East European Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. xiii, 256. \$37.50.

Tadeusz Swietochowski has produced a well-researched and informative monograph. As its title suggests, it deals with the development of the national identity and political life of the Azerbaijani Turks of the Russian empire. The author begins with descriptions of the Russian conquest in the early nineteenth century, then Russian administration, and local intellectual and political life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Next, focusing on the beginnings of national consciousness, pan-Islamism, "Pan-Turkism," liberalism, and socialism, he traces political life through the world war, the revolutions of 1917, civil war, occupations by Ottoman and British forces, independence, and, finally, reconquest. In examining this complex proc-

ess, the author has brought together a wealth of information from an impressive array of sources in Turkic languages, Russian, German, French, and English. This is a striking study of the political maturation of a colonial community.

Paradoxically, despite the careful research and detailed treatment of many political and intellectual issues, various incongruities hinder the emergence of an integrated picture of the Azerbaijani Turkish community. Although the author shows the elites of Azerbaijan as educated, thinking, and politically astute, he portrays the bulk of the population as alternately passive (p. 38) and aggressive, "usually on the attack" (p. 41). The level of the elites seems at times to be attributed to their contact with Europe, even Russia. Although he notes that Azerbaijan was part of an ancient civilization, the author later equates "progress" with European contact. In comparing the Azerbaijanis to the Tatars, he states that "although the Azerbaijanis could not claim an equally long tradition of contact with European civilization, their contributions to Muslim intellectual life (in the late 19th c.) were impressive" (p. 48). Reports on Azerbaijani-Armenian conflicts are based overwhelmingly on Armenian sources, even though the Baku press cited in the text also covered these events (pp. 38–41, 79, 113, 139).

Most important is a certain confusion regarding national identity itself. Indeed, as the title and preface suggest, discussion of national and religious identity occupy many pages and bring to light much information. Yet, strangely, anomalies remain.

The first ambiguity appears with a passage the author cites as the "earliest recorded literary statement" of "nascent national consciousness." Swietochowski argues that the last line, in which the "questioner" of the "dialogue" employs the term "Azerbaijani Turk," is key because it blends Turkic and Azerbaijani elements. The "answerer," however, states that "on the other side of the Araxes (i.e. in Iran) live the Azeris—on this side the bijanlis ('soulless'). Together it makes Azerbaijani. But separately we are bijanlis." This can readily be seen as a statement that, without their kin in Iran, those in the north are "soulless," nothing. Such an interpretation would put an entirely different coloring on the passage (p. 32).

The author devotes much space to the development of Turkic consciousness and the basis this provides for Azerbaijani-Ottoman relations. Yet he later states that the Azerbaijanis refused to fight Ottoman armies because of Islamic, not Turkic, unity (p. 123). Even in his concluding assessment of Azerbaijani national consciousness, he notes its "distinct quality" but attributes that to its Islamic context rather than to the unique local conditions that he partially documents (p. 192).

The point is not that multiple loyalties are not possible—they are. The author, however, makes an extremely persuasive case for strong national identity. Among his most eloquent evidence is the National Charter, which mentions religion only once. Article 4 guarantees civil liberties “regardless of ethnic origin, religion, class, profession or sex” (p. 129). Yet, Swietochowski continually uses Islamic identity to explain alliances and loyalties that, according to his own information, ought to be attributed to Turkic or national consciousness or even political exigencies. The hold of Islam may be greater over the analysts than over the so-called Muslims.

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EUGENE HUSKEY. *Russian Lawyers and the Soviet State: The Origins and Development of the Soviet Bar, 1917–1939*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986. Pp. xii, 247. \$26.50.

This excellent historical study fills a major gap in the literature on Soviet law. No similar work exists in any language. Foreign specialists on Soviet law have concentrated on the development of substantive law rather than on the role of the legal profession. Soviet histories of the legal profession have, in Eugene Huskey's words, “passed over in silence or openly falsified” the key period of the 1930s (p. 154).

The author begins with a brief historical introduction summarizing the development of the Russian bar from the reforms of 1864 to the Bolshevik revolution. His footnotes in this chapter provide an excellent bibliography for the reader wishing to delve further into this history. Setting the background for the conflicts he chronicles in the remaining chapters of the book, he traces the rapid rise of the professional competence and consciousness of the bar.

Two chapters, “The Bar in Decline” and “The Bar Restored,” cover, respectively, the postrevolutionary period and the years of the New Economic Policy. During these times the local bar associations in Petrograd/Leningrad and Moscow published journals with extensive and frank coverage of debates in their meetings. Huskey draws on this previously unexploited source to provide a clear picture of the tenacious and often successful efforts of the remnants of the prerevolutionary legal elite to maintain professionalism and resist party and state controls. He also discusses the principal demographic changes in the bar: a major reduction in overall numbers and a significant increase in the number of Jewish lawyers, discrimination against whom had ended under the Provisional Government.

Two further chapters, “The Bar under Siege” and “The Bar and Stalinism,” cover the crucial years when the present formal structure of the bar was created. The author has ably re-created the history of this period, for which sources are much more sparse than for 1864–1928. Local journals were no longer published, and strict central censorship of all legal publications had become effective. Nevertheless, by careful perusal of published and émigré sources, Huskey has made a convincing argument for his thesis that a period of stability set in by 1932, several years earlier than suggested by other historians of the period. Further, he argues convincingly that, contrary to the picture painted by many Soviet and foreign commentators, E. B. Pashukanis was in fact a conservative in practical matters who pressed for the preservation of a professional and independent bar.

The author chronicles the demographics of the bar in the 1930s, showing the radical change of policy, from one of forbidding party members to participate in the bar to one of packing the bar with party members. He shows that, by the end of the 1930s, the combination of this policy and Stalin's purges had completely shifted the composition of the bar, so that the lawyers with a prerevolutionary education were greatly outnumbered by uneducated young party members.

The book is not only essential reading for anyone interested in the Soviet legal system but also an important case study of the conflict of institutional autonomy and professionalism with party control in Soviet society.

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MARK HARRISON. *Soviet Planning in Peace and War, 1938–1945*. (Soviet and East European Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Pp. xiv, 315. \$44.50.

As Mark Harrison notes, the Soviet wartime economy has received surprisingly little attention from Western scholars. His effort is, therefore, a welcome and helpful contribution for which all students of Soviet history should be grateful.

The neglect of the Soviet war economy by Western scholars implies a general, if tacit, conclusion that the war was relatively insignificant for the evolution and current structure and performance of the Soviet economy. On this issue Harrison is somewhat ambiguous, for he shows a continuation of the prewar pattern of “mobilization” followed by a search for “balance” in economic planning into the war, with the first phase ending in early 1943 and the second phase continuing to the war's end. Harrison also argues, however, that the harshness of



wartime emergency mobilization and the resulting extreme centralization contributed in the end to significant reform of the system: "While some aspects of the war stimulated conservative and militaristic economic ideas, others served to show the limits of dictatorial rule and to renew the Soviet tradition of reform-mindedness in seeking solutions to immediate economic problems" (p. xii).

The stage is set in chapter 1, which provides a description of the fundamental pattern Harrison finds in the prewar history of Soviet economic planning: radical emergency mobilization followed by a period in which "balance" is restored. According to Harrison, these two phases represent alternative concepts of planning, with the quest for balance "always associated with institutional change in the planning system" (p. 5).

The big surprise for Soviet prewar military planners, as chapter 2 details, was the unexpected need to carry out mobilization for war in the midst of evacuation of the core of the industrial equipment and labor force of European Russia. The evacuation represented emergency mobilization at its most extreme and most successful. Chapter 3 (and supporting appendixes 1-3) describes the Soviet productive effort during the war, and it may very well be the most useful and interesting chapter of all for many readers. Harrison has carefully marshaled the empirical data, and he has made a praiseworthy, if only partially successful, effort to provide quarterly data for the war years. The first phase of the war effort, the phase of emergency mobilization, lasted approximately eighteen months. The turning point for the economy was, then, in early 1943, after which balanced expansion replaced emergency mobilization as the dominant theme of wartime central planning and management. Chapter 4 charts this process for the remainder of the war years.

The conclusions Harrison presents in the fifth and concluding chapter strike me as surprisingly vague. He states that the "most important permanent lesson from World War II was the importance of peace" (p. 242). He also points out that the war was viewed as a test of the socialist system. Success therefore afforded "the Soviet Union's socialist economic system with comparative legitimacy" (p. 243). Finally, Harrison concludes that political and economic reform were also stimulated by the lessons of the war experience.

All students of the Soviet war period will read this study to their profit. Many will complete the book, however, with a sense that somehow it failed to grapple with the truly fundamental issues of the Soviet war effort. When one contemplates the Soviet economic effort in World War II, certain questions arise. How did they organize production to win the war? What was the cost of the war? Who paid the cost? And how did the war change the fundamental

economic equation? Harrison's volume answers a part of the first question. The other questions are barely touched on. It is, of course, ungrateful and just like a reviewer to ask for more, but maybe Harrison will be encouraged to continue his efforts.

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## NEAR EAST

OLAF CAROE. *The Pathans, 550 B.C.—A.D. 1957*. (Oxford in Asia, Historical Reprints from Pakistan, modern series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. xxiv, 533. \$29.95.

"There is a strange fascination in living among the Pathans. Many attempts have been made to catch and convey that feeling, but the spell is elusive." Thus begins the introduction of this latest, comprehensive work in a long line of nostalgic, often scholarly writings produced by the officers of the British Raj who served in the raw and rugged North-West Frontier of British India.

Olaf Caroe's work covers an enormous field. With the exception of two recent Pukhto works, *Da Pukhtano Tarikh* (1948) by Qazi Ata'Ullah Khan and a more comprehensive one by Syed Bahadar Shah Zafar Kakakhel published in 1965, few Pathans have produced reliable and integrated histories of these fiercely independent and warlike people, although the Pathans have uninterruptedly inhabited the area between Khurasan and the Indian subcontinent since long before Alexander's passage through their midst. Now Caroe, the last British governor of the North-West Frontier Province, has written an integrated and up-to-date history of the people he admired and with whom he had an association of three decades.

Although Pathans have not lacked heroes, adventurers, military leaders, and even kings and occupiers of the imperial throne at Delhi, the eastern and western parts of their homeland have often been absorbed by empires in India and Persia. The highlanders in the middle, the legendary Afridis, Khataks, Orakzai, Waziris, Mahsuds, and so on, who have not been conquered and incorporated in any empire so far, are the "noble savages" who fascinate people of both the East and West.

The Pathans—they call themselves Pukhtun (or its variant Pushtun) or Afghans—traditionally trace their origin from the Hebrews. King Talut (Saul), they say, had a son named Irmia whose descendants became the Afghan people settling in Arabia and the mountains of Ghor. They converted to Islam at the time of Prophet Muhammad, who gave their leader the title of Pathan. These "facts" are un-

known to Hebrew or Arab historians. Besides, most of the Pathans converted to Islam nearly four centuries later, during the Ghaznavid rule of their lands.

When it originally came out in 1958, Caroe's book was well received, and—the disagreement of some Pathans notwithstanding—it settled the question of the origin of the Pathans. Other writers had done so before, but none with the magisterial command of Caroe, who critically surveyed historical works of Greek, Latin, Chinese, Persian, Arab, Turkish, and Afghan writers. Denying the Hebrew origins of the Pathans, Caroe traces the intricate genealogies of various tribes and their history up to the British period. Up to that point the book is nearly definitive.

One wishes one could say the same about the British period, 1847–1947. Now the story, almost a romance, is of how the early Englishmen tamed the wild area where earlier empires had failed. Caroe elegantly writes of their heroic exploits, battles, diplomacy, and genuine affection for the tribesmen: "As [Mountstuart] Elphinstone had divined, Englishmen and Pathans looked each other between the eyes, and there they found—a man" (p. 332). This story is thrilling, but as history it is one-dimensional and selective. Pathan resistance to British rule is seldom mentioned. The British knew what was good for the Pathans. George Roos-Keppel, a twentieth-century hero of Caroe, resisted the introduction of representative institutions in the province. So in 1920 "when all India entered on the dyarchic experiment in the direction of responsible government the North-West Frontier stood unchanged" (p. 425). The Pathans gained no elected representatives. The North-West Frontier Province joined the rest of India in limited self-government in the 1930s. Baluchistan never did.

Strangely, the strategic importance of the frontier was not discussed in the 1958 edition of the book. After all, strategic considerations lay behind the occupation of the frontier in the first place. Forty years before the occupation, the British sent missions to Tehran and Kabul to counter Napoleon's supposed intention to invade India overland. After the Congress of Vienna India had to be secured against Russian ambitions. Afghanistan could not be allowed to fall under Russian influence. All policy decisions about the administration of the frontier flowed from this paramount goal of British diplomacy.

As if to compensate for that omission, Caroe has added a sad, though well-informed, epilogue on Russia to this 1983 edition of the book. All that the empire stood for and achieved has changed, and the Russians are now in Afghanistan. The counterpoise is gone: "Once we knew the way to the heart of the Pathan. We have now lost contact and interest" (p.

525). That, according to Caroe, has put the subcontinent and the adjoining gulf at risk. The Soviets have attacked the West at a weak point, and the resistance of the West and the Islamic world has been "mainly verbal" (p. 533). Much, he says, will depend on the strength and quality of local tribal resistance.

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MUHSIN D. YUSUF. *Economic Survey of Syria during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*. (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, number 114.) Berlin: Klaus Schwarz. 1985. Pp. 312.

In recent decades studies by Marius Canard, Nikita Elisséeff, Suhayl Zakkar, and others have given us a fairly exact knowledge of the political events and institutions of medieval Syria. Thanks especially to the work of Jean Sauvaget and his students, we know much (though not nearly enough) about that region's archaeology and urban topography. Finally, Claude Cahen, Ira Lapidus, and Axel Havemann have thrown light on the structures of urban society. But no systematic work has been done on the economic life of Syria, especially for the centuries preceding the Crusades. Muhsin D. Yusuf's book thus promises to fill a serious gap. Although his study is undoubtedly useful, however, it is far from meeting the need.

Yusuf's thesis is that, contrary to most current opinion, Syria saw a considerable economic revival between the second decade of the tenth century and the last quarter of the eleventh and generally flourished throughout that period. He qualifies this by noting that two districts (Homs and southern Palestine) were badly ravaged by incessant warfare as well as natural disaster and thus suffered serious economic regression: abandonment of cultivated lands, depopulation of towns and villages, and slowing of commerce. He also notes a general shift of population and economic activity from the interior steppe of eastern Syria toward the Mediterranean coastlands; indeed, he argues, the cities of the coast (Sidon, Tyre, Tripoli) again became major urban centers during the two centuries under study.

This thesis is original and well worth exploring, but in my opinion it is not adequately supported by Yusuf's argument. To some degree, his problem is rooted in the nature of the sources—almost no documents, a few chronicles, some suggestive but terse geographical texts. In this situation extensive extrapolation from the few bits of hard data that can be found is unavoidable. Yusuf, unfortunately, shows limited skill in this delicate art, and his conclusions throughout largely represent pure conjecture—plausibility rather than convincing argument.

tation. For example, he asserts that the table of tax revenues that he gives in appendix 5 supports his hypothesis of steady economic growth in the tenth century. These figures might indeed reflect such a progress, but they could equally well indicate decline or stagnation.

Also troubling are the gaps in the notes and bibliography. How can one write a serious study of medieval Syria without reference to Cahen, Elisséeff, or Dominique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel? Given the economic importance of the cloth trade, is it not essential to use R. B. Serjeant's fundamental study on Islamic textiles?

I do not wish to close on such a negative note. Yusuf has brought together much valuable material. In addition, he has provided a number of appendices. These include a very useful sequence of maps of trade routes within Syria, each one keyed to a specific text written during the period under study. Two maps that compare the distribution of agricultural products in circa 1000 with that in circa 1400 are likewise helpful. Finally, he has developed a promising thesis that will certainly repay further study. But this thesis will require far more elaboration, and a far more exacting analysis of the evidence, before it can be put to use.

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ARNOLD BLUMBERG. *Zion before Zionism, 1838–1880*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1985. Pp. xv, 235. \$28.00.

The book under review is a descriptive and anecdotal history of the attitudes, problems, and interrelationships faced by key consular officials during a forty-year period in nineteenth-century Palestine. This work is not, as its title suggests, an encompassing assessment of Palestine between Ibrahim Pasha's invasion and the earliest Zionist immigration. Arnold Blumberg has written neither a thorough demographic and economic review of Palestinian society nor an analysis of changing Ottoman attitudes toward one of its peripheral, provincial, and problematic areas during the initial years of the Ottoman reform movement.

Consular activities are discussed in a period in which foreign non-Moslems were allowed permanent residence in Palestine. The heyday of consular supremacy in nation-state decision making for the region is reckoned from 1853 to 1866. Decline of the local consuls' strength corresponded to greater diplomatic interest by European decision makers in the Holy Land; the introduction of the telegraph reduced the prominence of the persona in daily affairs and bolstered the authority of the home office.

Unfortunately, the book is somewhat misleading in its terminology, uneven in its coverage, and incomplete in its survey of published sources. Chapters entitled "Palestinian Islam," "Palestinian Christianity," and "Palestinian Judaism" incorrectly suggest that the religious or ethnic affinities of the monotheistic faiths were distinct and unique in the Palestinian context.

Likewise, the book is more descriptive than analytical. The chapters on consular affairs are interesting but not weighty in comparison to those that all too briefly describe population and society. Although the dates chosen represent a discrete period in the Holy Land's emerging history, little is said about consular affairs either before 1838 or after 1880. The author might have connected, even if only in a conclusion, the period under study with the impact of European consular officials on Arab-Jewish relations during the formative period from the 1880s to the end of World War I.

Although the author lists twenty-eight excellent articles in Hebrew published in *Cathedra* of the Jerusalem Ben Zvi Institute, other Hebrew entries, such as those in *Hamizrah Hehadash*, monographs, collected essays, and Ottoman institutional histories in a variety of Western languages are noticeably absent from the bibliography and from the author's synthesis.

This book is not what it says it is, although the author's intentions were notable. Blumberg does not prove the thesis that this period was "an essential incubative time period without which Zionism could never have prospered in Zion" (p. xi). The book would have been better titled "Nineteenth-Century Proconsuls in the Holy Land."

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G. S. GEORGHALLIDES. *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis*. (Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus, number 13.) Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center. 1985. Pp. vii, 746.

This enormous book is the second in what has turned out to be a three-volume political and administrative history of the British rule of Cyprus from 1918 to 1932. Whereas the first volume, published in 1979, characterizes the foundations of British rule from 1878 to 1918 in 100 pages and then chronicles eight years in 320 pages, this volume covers five years in over 700 pages. The author and the publisher must be criticized for a study that has apparently grown out of control.

Most of the English-reading world probably bases its views of the 1931 crisis over British rule in Cyprus on *Orientalisms* (1937), the autobiography of Ronald Storrs, who was governor of Cyprus at the

time. Storrs attributed the crisis to uncertainty over the permanence of British rule before World War I, the so-called tribute by which the British used Cyprus revenue to pay off Ottoman loans of the 1850s, and Hellenic nationalism. Storrs's account does not indicate how little flexibility the Colonial Office allowed him in trying to meet Cypriot grievances, especially as the British found themselves increasingly bereft of collaborative support. The isolation of the British is made abundantly clear by G. S. Georghallides through the extensive quotation and paraphrasing of British official records.

Yet this, in itself, does not make up for the many flaws in his account of British rule in Cyprus. The first flaw is the pro-Greek bias of Georghallides, who rarely criticizes Cypriot Greeks except when he feels they were insufficiently supportive of the union of Cyprus with Greece (*enosis*). He treats the Cypriot Turks who collaborated with the British as dupes of imperialism, without sufficiently considering that the Turks were a minority and, as such, behaved no differently than did other Near Eastern minorities when they relied on foreign power to protect them. Georghallides quotes extensively and uncritically from the contemporary Greek press of Cyprus.

The second flaw in this volume is the failure to grasp the complexities in the formulation and execution of British policy. Georghallides does not put Colonial Office figures into the full London context of Whitehall, Westminster, and Downing Street that would have revealed the constraints operating on policy making. Further, Georghallides does not put Cyprus into the context of British Near and Middle Eastern interests; if he had done so, he would have appreciated how Storrs was merely carrying out a "tough-minded" policy such as George Lloyd then followed in Egypt and how the British regarded Cyprus as strategically vital to their interests in the area. Finally, Georghallides should have indicated that British indifference to Cypriot "development" was not unique, for this was characteristic of British rule in Africa and Asia between the wars.

The last flaw in this book is that, for all the scholarly trappings, there is too much quotation and too little analysis.

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## AFRICA

ISAAC JAMES MOWOE and RICHARD BJORNSON, editors. *Africa and the West: The Legacies of Empire*. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, number 92.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, under the auspices of the College of Humanities, Ohio State University, Columbus. 1986. Pp. x, 274. \$35.00.

This book, edited by Isaac James Mowoe and Richard Bjornson, grew out of a large conference held in Columbus, Ohio, in 1982 to examine the impact of European colonialism on Africa, a quarter of a century after most African states had gained their political independence. It is, therefore, quite different from a similarly titled book edited by Philip Curtin (who contributes chapter 2 here) in 1972. Curtin's purpose then was to examine European influence throughout the continent. The focus of the present book is on the legacies of European colonialism and the ways in which various African societies resolve the conflict between cultures, systems, and change. This difference comes out clearly in the subtitles.

In the opening essay Curtin points out that the general African colonial experience did not vary significantly from the rest of the world. But conditions in Africa produced a variety of responses on the part of both European intruders and African hosts. Not surprisingly, imperialism and capitalism did not necessarily correspond throughout the continent. Ali Mazrui, in an extremely articulate essay, explores the relationship between culture and politics on four levels: the merging of indigenous, Western, and Islamic traditions, the quest for internal cultural cohesion within individual states, the attempts to provide a pan-African cultural uniformity, and the attempt to develop and expound an ideology consonant with the basic culture and traditions of Africa. John Mbiti and Kwesi Dickson point out that throughout the continent religious systems demonstrate a marked similarity in their conceptual framework of humanity and the universe and tend to be far more complex than the simple categorization of monotheism or polytheism. Four authors deal with Francophone Africa. Leopold Sedar Senghor traces the genesis of his own thinking on negritude to the advocacy of independent coequal cultures by Leo Frobenius and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. Valentin Mudimbe and Abiola Irele discuss the increase in scholarly acceptance of an independent African philosophy, albeit with a strong theological foundation, as well as the effects of that evolution on individual and national identity. Irele offers one of the clearest definitions of negritude to be found anywhere. Especially useful is his discussion of its intellectual trajectory since its formulation by Senghor and Aime Cesaire. Victor Levine examines the French colonial elite in West Africa and strongly suggests that most of them suffered from an acute "political schizophrenia . . . evident in both their political language and their behavior as nationalists" (p. 160).

Perhaps the least thoughtful contribution is Njoku Awa's article, "Colonialism and Media Imperialism." Awa's descriptive argument seems heavily influenced by the work of Herbert Schiller and John



Lent. By contrast, the last two essays, on law and music, are fully documented and impressively argued. Taslim Elias demonstrates that African judges have a more difficult position than their peers elsewhere in the Commonwealth. They have to balance the complex precedents of English common law, customary law, and particular statutes and arrive at decisions that must be as selective as they are pragmatic, or, as he elegantly phrases it, they must "effect a dynamic compromise between law and society, between the technicalities of legal science and the requirements of social justice" (p. 211). Kwabena Nketia describes the development of African musicology from the nineteenth century to the present. His emphasis is on the post-1920 period, which he divides into four phases: the colonial period to 1950, marked especially by the influence of George Ballanta of Sierra Leone and Ephraim Amu of Ghana; from 1950 to 1960, which he sees as a period of cultural awakening and revival; from 1960 to 1970, a period of transition in which African musicology became internationally recognized; and after 1970, marked by the expansion of research and teaching. The divisions seem less important than the broad geographical scope he provides and the way in which he consistently anchors music in society and culture.

This is a fine collection of essays that provides a perfect complement to Curtin's earlier edition and provides the reader with an excellent insight into the challenging intellectual complexity of contemporary Africa.

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JOHN RALPH WILLIS, editor. *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*. Volume 1, *Islam and the Ideology of Slavery*; volume 2, *The Servile Estate*. London: Frank Cass; distributed by Biblio Distribution Center, Totowa, N.J. 1985. Pp. xiv, 267; xiv, 198. \$75.00 the set.

This collection of nineteen essays originated in a 1977 conference under John Ralph Willis's direction that tackled slavery and related institutions in Islamic Africa. The two volumes divide essays thematically and methodologically into those largely "orientalist" in their point of departure and those informed by historical or social scientific method.

"Orientalism" in the study of Muslim societies carries somewhat negative implications these days as a label for literary analyses deprived of social or historical context, yet each of the contributions so characterized addresses particular details or problems that often surface in discussions of slavery in Muslim Africa. Willis begins the first volume with a piece on the ideology of enslavement in Islam. Paulo

Farias examines the context and ideological uses of cognitive categories in medieval sources making reference to "Zanj" and "Qaql." Akhbar Muhammad analyzes six works from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries for the intrusion of Greek and Jewish legends relating to people of African ancestry. The "curse of Ham" in early Rabbinic oral law is refuted by Ephraim Isaac. Two essays address attitudes toward slaves revealed in Arabic proverbs (William John Sersen) and in Hausa literature (Mervyn Hiskett). Bernard Barbour's and Michelle Jacobs's translation and commentary on a treatise by the sixteenth-century Timbuktu jurist Ahmad Baba and Constance Hilliard's translation of two excerpts from works by the twentieth-century Senegalese scholar Musa Kamara speak to legal issues arising out of the institution of slavery. In an essay that might have more appropriately fit the second set of contributions, Nehemia Levtzion surveys patterns and relationships between slaving, Islamization, and commercial activities across Muslim Africa. Finally, Daniel Pipes analyzes usages of the ambiguous term "mawla" in literatures through the early Abbasid period.

Historians may find the second volume, in which contributors have generally cast their work in somewhat broader contexts, of more immediate application than the studies on ideology. In a geographically well balanced set of essays we are led from North Africa and the western Sudan (Aziz Abdalla Batran on Mulay Isma'il's policy toward freed slave communities in seventeenth-century Fes and J. O. Hunwick's survey of citations relevant to slavery in Songhay) to a critique of interpretations of farm-slavery in Kano (Nigeria) at the beginning of the twentieth century by Polly Hill and a narrative of the suppression of the Fazzan slave trade at the end of the nineteenth century by B. G. Martin. Farther east, R. S. O'Fahey surveys materials on types of slavery in Dar Fur (Sudan); the career of al-Zubayr Pasha and the slave-trade economy of Bahr al-Gazal during the third quarter of the nineteenth century is essayed by Lawrence Mire; and Mordechai Abir describes the slave trade in Ethiopia with particular reference to the Muslim world of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The second volume concludes with a fascinating insight into the function of slave markets and the lot of the slave in nineteenth-century Cairo by Terence Waltz and A. M. H. Sheriff's critique of the literature on slave modes of production with reference to the East African coast during the nineteenth century and the demise of slavery in the train of inroads made by merchant capital.

The easy digestion of smorgasbord collections that cover such a wide range of topics and methodologies as do these volumes always presents problems. Willis has provided the same three-page pref-



ace for the two books and, perhaps wisely, does not attempt to synthesize or summarize any conclusions or problems arising from this first serious exercise to address slavery in Muslim Africa. Rather, he admits to the need for further, perhaps more methodical and disciplined, research on the topic. When that next generation of studies emerges, surely one of the fundamental questions that will need to be addressed is the dilemma presented by the structure of this collection: how to mesh the prodigious literature produced by Islamic scholars that sought to rationalize or legitimize slavery (and other forms of discrimination) within a faith that professes the equality of believers before Allah with an economic institution that calls for analyses based on economic data and, for understanding through time, process models. This collection provides a useful introduction to the range of issues associated with the ideology of slavery in Muslim societies from the perspective of the texts. The case has not yet been made (perhaps because it cannot be made) for anything inherently "Islamic" about slavery in Muslim Africa.

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TERENCE RANGER. *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study*. (Perspectives on Southern Africa, number 37.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press or James Currey, London, 1985. Pp. xxii, 377.

This is Terence Ranger's first major monograph on Zimbabwe since *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia* (1967). Eighteen years separate the two books. A seminal work for its generation, *Revolt* opened up the study of violent African responses to the establishment of European colonial rule and epitomized the concept of "primary resistance," a concept that it helped establish. The differences in the titles of the two books suggest changes in both the country being studied and the author's approach. "Southern Rhodesia" has become "Zimbabwe," "revolt" has become "guerrilla war," and both "peasant" and "consciousness" have entered the intellectual horizon. Whereas *Revolt* took for its subject events some sixty to seventy years prior to its writing, the present book is an exercise in contemporary history.

Will this book have the same impact that *Revolt* had? The intervening growth and development of African history make that achievement more difficult. If this book succeeds it will be for reasons of continuity in Ranger's practice as a historian, as well as for his capacity to develop with the field. The book has its predecessor's vigor, clarity, affection, and enthusiasm and shares some of its thematic concerns. Nationalism, religion, and the epic event

and process are the phenomena that continue to fascinate Ranger.

The book is more ambitious than its predecessor: it explicitly charts a comparative course; and, more successfully, it attempts to locate the participation of the Shona peasants of Zimbabwe in the war of the 1970s within the context of their twentieth-century agrarian history. Ranger's research was confined to Zimbabwe, and his comparisons rest on the findings of others. Methodologically, the two books show continuity in that they rest on archival research and on a traditional form of narrative synthesis rather than on quantitative techniques. *Peasant*, however, incorporates an impressive range of archives going beyond the governmental to include religious and private collections, and, in keeping both with wider developments in the field and its more contemporary focus, it makes generous use of oral informants.

The book will make its most lasting contribution by addressing central concerns of African historiography. Ranger explores the notions of "peasant" in the African context and of "consciousness." In analyzing the concept of peasantry he is robustly sensible, although one chapter is organized around the unhappy notion of "self-peasantization." "Consciousness" he also approaches with sobriety, explicating it by a variety of techniques. He directly addresses the relationship of his Shona peasants with the state and with the elites that dominate it and provides a nuanced account of the changes in that relationship. Finally, he takes on "guerrilla warfare," a subject certain to grow in interest and importance. The result is a book firmly grounded in rich source material, written with clarity, vigor, and color, and boldly addressed to major questions. It deserves a wide readership.

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MAUREEN SWAN. *Gandhi: The South African Experience*. (New History of Southern Africa.) Johannesburg: Raven; distributed by Ohio University Press, Athens. 1985. Pp. xvii, 310. \$19.95.

M. K. Gandhi's nearly twenty-one years in South Africa between 1893 and 1914 were formative for his role as a principal architect of India's independence as well as for the South African Indians' future political role. Previous biographical works have either ignored or distorted a proper understanding of Gandhi mainly because of their heavy reliance on his autobiographies and the *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. These studies have made Gandhi the pivot of all actions. All other actors are seen as playing mere supporting roles.

Maureen Swan's book takes as its starting point Gandhi's "constituents rather than Gandhi" (p. xv). It reaches beyond the traditional sources to make an intensive use of archival material, periodicals, and newspapers to arrive at fresh perspectives. Swan's conclusion is a corrective to earlier historiography on Gandhi's South African years and clears away much of the myth surrounding his leadership. The leading role attributed to Gandhi before 1906, according to Swan, is "entirely inappropriate" (p. xvi) because he acted largely as an efficient secretary to organizations dominated by the Indian merchant classes. After 1906 Gandhi was at best a "reformist," and he was a "revolutionary" only to the extent implied in the technique of passive resistance. Gandhi was a conservative sharing the ideology of the merchant classes, and his search for a solution for only Indians precluded cooperation with other disadvantaged groups in South Africa. He saw the African in the same racist terms as the whites of the period. In any event, when the movement finally incorporated the Indian masses, this was as much the result of his attempt to catch up with them as of the militancy among the Indian underclasses.

The focus on Gandhi's "constituents" involved the identification of broad socioeconomic classes among the Indians. Swan identifies three classes: the commercial elite with large trading interests, whose average income was 300 pounds per year, and who organized their political and social life around mercantile interests; the new elite, made up of professionally oriented descendants of indentured and formerly indentured Indians with an average annual income in 1904 of sixty-five pounds, who became prominent after 1905; and the masses of the "underclasses," indentured Indians serving five-year contracts in agriculture and industry or formerly indentured petty entrepreneurs and workers, all of whose average yearly income was between twelve and eighteen pounds.

The South African Indians are examined against this backdrop. The commercial elite was most comfortable with the politics of polite persuasion. As Gandhi advanced toward the *satyagraha* philosophy, which involved direct action, the commercial elite gradually distanced itself and virtually abandoned Gandhi by 1910. He turned to the new elite, who supported him willingly enough but failed to sustain the movement for any length of time. Mass support was ensured only when he promoted as a major issue the three pound tax, which most directly and severely affected the "underclasses." The government could not ignore the movement at that point and reached an accord in 1914.

Why did the underclasses respond so spontaneously when they apparently possessed no political or working-class consciousness? Swan explains their militancy in terms of George Rudé's observation of

the English preindustrial classes in the nineteenth century. The Indian underclasses, like their English counterparts, looked to socially higher individuals for leadership to find redress for their immediate grievances. Gandhi impressed them as one such individual. The evidence presented seems to support Swan's contention, and yet the point needs amplification to determine more precisely the experience of the underclasses in South Africa, superimposed as it was on their Indian background.

Nevertheless, this work admirably succeeds in portraying South African Indian politics between 1893 and 1914. The group-based analysis provides explanations for actions that previous scholarship was all too eager to attribute to Gandhi's leadership. It illuminates many aspects of the period and thereby prepares the ground for the history that follows 1914. As for Gandhi, he appears more human, although his stature as a significant figure is not diminished because of it. The new perspectives on his formative years in South Africa must surely stimulate scholarly debate on his role in India.

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MERLE LIPTON. *Capitalism and Apartheid: South Africa, 1910-84*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Allanheld. 1985. Pp. xi, 448. \$19.95.

As Merle Lipton explains in this well-researched and valuable book, the historiography of the relationship between capitalism and apartheid has revolved around radically conflicting interpretations. Based on the assumptions of classical economics, the so-called liberal school has stressed the obstacles apartheid constructs against the free movement of capital, labor, and technology. According to this interpretation, capitalists, finding apartheid incompatible with their needs, will ultimately combine to bring it down. Marxists and neo-Marxists, who themselves have established a sort of orthodoxy, have understood apartheid as being structurally determined by the needs of evolving capitalism in the peculiar circumstances of South Africa. Still another school has seen capitalism as essentially neutral and infinitely adaptable, bending with a political wind fanned from other, Afrikaner nationalist, sources. All these interpretations, Lipton contends, are partly right. But all have tended to treat both capitalism and apartheid as monoliths. All have understated the importance of time. All have therefore oversimplified an extremely complex and changing relationship.

First, he argues, both parts of the equation must be broken down. Apartheid is multifaceted: it consists of social and political factors, control of the

influx of population, and separate development. Capitalism is equally diverse. The interests of capitalist agriculture, mining companies, merchants, and industrialists are not necessarily the same. Moreover, those interests change over time. At various times specific groups found the precapitalist elements of South Africa's political economy (subsistence agriculture, communal land tenure, tied labor), which had largely been produced by an earlier phase of the interaction of capitalism and apartheid, to be significant obstacles to growth, productivity, and profit. When costs outweighed benefits, those groups tended to oppose specific features of apartheid—not because they were better or more liberal people but because they were protecting specific economic interests. That was true, he contends, of mining capitalists from the outset; they consistently opposed the color bar in employment that prevented them from replacing white workers with cheaper black ones. (Frederick Johnstone's argument, in *Class, Race, and Gold: A Study of Class Relations and Racial Discrimination in South Africa* [1976], that the mining magnates' opposition to the color bar in employment was only token Lipton calls perverse.) By World War II big merchants and industrialists, and Jan Smuts's United party, which was associated with them, opposed elements of apartheid; hence the partial erosion of apartheid that ended abruptly in 1948. Economic grounds for resistance to apartheid were not yet present among large farmers, still mainly concerned with a guaranteed supply of cheap, unskilled labor, or among white laborers—the two groups who formed the backbone of the Nationalist party. And apartheid intensified.

By the late 1970s most South African capitalists had concluded that substantial parts of the apartheid system had become costly anachronisms. As manufacturing, transportation, mining, and agriculture became more mechanized, labor costs declined in relation to the whole, while the need for a skilled and stable work force increased. Even opposition to black trade unions declined in response to a need for more sophisticated mechanisms of managing that work force. Opposition to separate development, entailing substantial investment and removal of some industries (such as much of the Johannesburg garment trade) to the homelands, was substantial. This, Lipton concludes, is the class analysis of the reform program of the 1980s. Yet, although no important group of South African capitalists supported the economic basis of apartheid, the system largely continued. Indeed, the removal of "surplus" population to the Bantustans accelerated. Why?

First, the inertia of a bureaucracy initially called into being to serve the needs of an earlier relationship between capitalism and apartheid remained

powerful. Second, the assumption that economic power necessarily translates into political muscle has proved to be untenable. Largely unfathomable by Marxist analysis, Afrikaner nationalism (as well as fear) had much to do with the persistence of apartheid. Third, although capitalists might be strongly opposed to particular aspects of discrimination, they rarely opposed the system as a whole; law and order still seemed to be equated with the maintenance of white supremacy.

Although the subtitle promises coverage of the period since 1910, the analysis of the last decade is deepest, most original, and most valuable. Despite a good deal of repetition, as well as something of a degeneration in the last chapters (a three-page snippet on black consciousness, four pages on Soweto, and so on) I found this a thoughtful and important book. I recommend it to anyone interested in this complex and rapidly changing problem.

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#### ASIA AND THE EAST

JOSEPH FEWSMITH. *Party, State, and Local Elites in Republican China: Merchant Organizations and Politics in Shanghai, 1890–1930*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1985. Pp. xii, 275. \$25.00.

Shanghai business interests were formerly thought to have formed the backbone of Chiang Kai-shek's regime. Then, in 1980 Parks M. Coble, Jr., in *The Shanghai Capitalists and the Nationalist Government, 1927–1937*, argued otherwise: "Despite their common opposition to social revolution, the relationship between Nanking and the capitalists was one of tension and hostility" (Coble, p. 3). Coble cited, for example, the Nationalists' coercion of the merchants for funds soon after their arrival in Shanghai. Now, however, Joseph Fewsmith questions whether the merchants and the Nationalists were in fact quite so antagonistic.

The key to Fewsmith's critique is his demonstration that both elements in this relationship, the merchants and the Nationalists, were not monolithic entities. Because of a "bifurcated economy," the business class of Shanghai was divided between the merchant elite and middle merchants, and relations between the two were quite strained. The Nationalists, too, were divided, with the Kuomintang (KMT), then still a revolutionary political party, having an existence separate from Chiang Kai-shek and his emerging state apparatus.

The two opposing merchant groups responded to Chiang and the KMT in different ways. Except for their most conservative elements, who were soon

ousted, the merchant elite supported Chiang but not the revolutionary KMT. The middle merchants, on the other hand, rallied to the KMT, which shared their hostility toward the merchant elite. The KMT, for example, accused the elite's chambers of commerce of having colluded with the imperialists and the warlords "to oppress the middle and small merchants and to exploit the masses" (p. 153). It tried several times during 1927–29 to replace the chambers with new party-run merchant associations.

Although "tension and hostility" indeed characterized the merchant elite's relationship with the KMT, such antagonism did not extend to their relationship with Chiang. When the elite denounced as communistic the KMT's proposals to abolish the chambers of commerce, Chiang agreed with them and proceeded to rein in the KMT. The party lost out to the state. Fewsmith concludes, "The defeat of those efforts . . . should give pause to those who would have us believe that the merchant elite suffered in the Nanking decade. On the local level at least, they seem to have held their own" (p. 200).

On this issue Fewsmith would seem to have the better of Coble. Otherwise, the two works hardly overlap. Fewsmith's analysis, which extends back beyond the May Fourth Movement of 1919, stops in 1930; Coble's, on the other hand, focused mostly on the period after 1931. Furthermore, despite their differences, Fewsmith does not in fact dispute Coble's basic contention that, contrary to previous opinion, Chiang's power base did not lie with the modern business class. However, whereas Coble saw the Nationalist government as "essentially an autonomous force whose power rested principally on its military" (Coble, p. 268), Fewsmith portrays Chiang as a broker—"an indispensable leader mediating among interests and factions" (p. 201). In this as well as other aspects, Fewsmith finds many similarities between Nationalist China and the authoritarian regimes of interwar Europe, notably Mussolini's Italy and Franco's Spain, to a comparison of which he devotes a chapter.

EDWARD RHOADS  
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JEFFREY P. MASS and WILLIAM B. HAUSER, editors. *The Bakufu in Japanese History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1985. Pp. xvi, 264. \$34.00.

The emphasis of the present collection of essays in honor of John W. Hall is on power and its uses, particularly the strategies employed by warrior-class regimes to preserve or enhance their control of Japan. As William B. Hauser points out, these papers can be seen as further developments of

themes presented in Hall's seminal *Government and Local Power in Japan, 500 to 1700* (1966).

In the first paper, "What Can We Not Know about the Kamakura Bakufu?" Jeffrey P. Mass sternly insists that contemporary documents are the necessary source of historical truth. Official documents of the Kamakura regime say little about its financial administration, its dominial holdings, or its conduct of provincial affairs, and Mass concludes that the reason for this is "Kamakura's indirect rule" (p. 30), whereby these functions were discharged by officials outside of warrior government *per se*. Mass's careful and often subtle argument focuses on the types of authority invoked by the documents he accepts as primary sources. The higher organs of Kamakura confined their explicit decree-making powers mostly to controversies involving official vassals and their landed property interests. Mass's assertion that these circumstances must limit "realistic research goals" (p. 30) seems a trifle pessimistic in light of the over twenty thousand, mostly unmined, "documents" of all sorts and the great variety of diaries and other extant sources from the period. Despite the difficulties involved, any assessment of Kamakura power requires exploration of indirectly exercised authority.

The second paper, Andrew Goble's "The Kamakura Bakufu and Its Officials," concentrates on the degree to which the regime developed a corps of bureaucratic officials distinct from military vassals and illustrates the need for further clarification of this problem. The three papers that follow, by Suzanne Gay, Lorraine F. Harrington, and Peter J. Arnesen, deal with the Muromachi Bakufu, and all agree that this regime was more powerful than is generally supposed. Gay's paper, on the administrative and judicial features of Muromachi rule deserves special commendation for incisively presenting Kuroda Toshio's "kenmon seika" theory, according to which the Kamakura and Muromachi bakufu were simply political hegemonies within a broader ruling stratum of dominial suzerains that included the high nobility and the great religious institutions. This perspective, so helpful in assessing the importance of *shōen* lands, has been consistently neglected by Western scholars, and, in this volume, is treated somewhat dismissively by Mass (p. 27). Gay effectively employs Kuroda's scheme in a general critique of recent attempts to characterize Muromachi policy and convincingly demonstrates its links to *kenmon seika* and *shōen*.

Harrington and Arnesen, drawing extensively on regional materials, describe the bakufu's efforts to maintain control over the warriors of the countryside. Their papers show that the constant battling within and between warrior families for land and office might have actively contributed to the preservation of bakufu power. Implicit in these excellent



articles is the assumption that the slow disintegration of older structures of authority such as *kenmon seika* and *shōen* forced the bakufu toward increasing reliance on *Realpolitik*. As Harrington puts it, "absentee lordship was on the defensive, and the kinship structure of warrior houses was in serious decline" (p. 66). Both Harrington, in her article on bakufu rule in Kanto and Kyushu, and Arnesen, in his examination of three warrior families in western Honshu, offer new, and remarkably consistent, views of the nature and scope of Muromachi authority. Unlike Gay, they perceive the bakufu, at least from the conclusion of the Nanbokucho Wars in the late fourteenth century, as a complete polity whose power ultimately depended on the support of a numerically small but critically placed corps of military vassals. This relatively narrow view of state structure leaves many unanswered questions and does not refute Gay's broader perspective on rule from Kyoto in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In "The Toyotomi Regime and the Daimyo" Bernard Susser, placing confidence in the political genius of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–95), argues forcefully that the early modern daimyo fief was a product of Hideyoshi's efforts to make daimyo "weak with respect to the central government but absolute in their own territories" (p. 130). Susser reviews all of Hideyoshi's well-known social and political policies, such as the great cadastral surveys and the sword hunt, and relates a number of instances in which apparently severe impositions placed on daimyo actually helped them tighten control over their domains. The major issue posed here—Hideyoshi's significance in bringing about the centralization of the daimyo domain—remains a difficult one on which reasonable opinions will no doubt always differ, but Susser's analysis should stimulate a productive debate.

In his paper on the reconstruction of Osaka Castle from 1620 to 1629, Hauser again takes up the relationship between the daimyo fiefs and the central authority, in this case the Edo Bakufu. His paper reminds us that, even at this time, impositions placed on daimyo domains were in effect demands for military tribute. Rebuilding the former Toyotomi stronghold on an even grander scale at the expense of potentially hostile lords was, Hauser shows, part of a general program of asserting, and institutionalizing, Tokugawa supremacy throughout Japan. The final disintegration of the Edo Bakufu and its response to the foreign menace provide the background for Harold Bolitho's appraisal of the career of the shogunal counselor Abe Mashiro (1819–57). Intent on demolishing the favorable image of Abe found in the works of Conrad Totman and others, Bolitho nearly blames the bakufu's collapse on Abe alone. Abe's attempt to

consolidate the regime by soliciting the consent of the daimyo and the imperial court to his reformist policies was "a deliberate retreat from centralized authority and responsibility, and as such, an indulgence Japan could not afford" (p. 185). This debatable statement begs the question: How much "centralized authority" did the bakufu councilors actually have? Bolitho's argument badly needs a historical context.

All the essays in this collection view military regimes from the top down and, necessarily, ignore major questions of social and economic history. Yet they clarify aspects of Japanese political traditions that have been neglected by Western writers, and, better still, they point out refreshing alternatives to already stated views. The disparity of viewpoints apparent in the various contributions is an auspicious sign for the future development of premodern Japanese history in the United States.

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ANDREW GORDON, *The Evolution of Labor Relations in Japan: Heavy Industry, 1853–1955*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, History of Japanese Business and Industry, number 117.) Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1985. Pp. xvi, 524. \$25.00.

This intriguing and well-documented study provides a needed "revision" of modern Japanese history. It skillfully shows how Japanese labor-management relations developed from their early beginnings and uses a broad multidisciplinary analysis that emphasizes pressures, tensions, conflicts, negotiations, and compromises among employers, workers, and government officials in setting terms of industrial employment. It refreshingly focuses on the dynamics of change rather than the forces of static tradition. Had this "collective bargaining" approach been in vogue years ago, the Japanese system of industrial relations would not have seemed so unique and different from Western experience.

As the monograph's subtitle indicates, Andrew Gordon manages a highly complex topic by concentrating on the "heart" of Japan's industrialization—the iron and steel, shipbuilding, and heavy machinery industries (especially several of the largest firms in each). In an admirable use of Japanese-language documentary compilations dealing with these industries as well as labor in general, he draws out the issues over wages, employment, and treatment at work throughout the successive stages of Japan's economic development. He finds that the rules of employment today identified with Japan took decades to evolve and passed through three distinct periods of about one generation each (1850s–80s,



1900–39, and 1939–80s). These time divisions (and their subperiods) highlight the changeability rather than continuity of Japanese labor relations as employers, workers, and government bureaucrats sought differing goals and applied pressures on one another within a constantly changing economic, technological, and labor market environment.

As the study confirms, the famed Japanese trilogy of “permanent employment,” “seniority wages,” and “enterprise unionism” hardly existed before the early 1900s, had tentative forerunners in the 1920s, proved fleeting even with the militaristic “labor front” of the 1930s and 1940s, and, only after the wholesale reforms of the Allied occupation and a protracted struggle between organized labor and employers, took firm hold in the 1950s. Even this settlement, Gordon holds, represented no traditional consensus but, rather, trade-offs resulting from contending pressures and counterpressures over issues of worker security, advancement, and status associated with industrialization.

This excellent study has few faults. It might, however, have applied its own “lesson” of dynamic change to the post–World War II era. Gordon seemingly believes that by 1955 Japanese industrial relations “settled down” into a fixed pattern that has continued to the present. But that contention, too, deserves the careful reexamination that Gordon has given to the first hundred years. Dramatic innovations in labor relations have emerged in postwar Japan (not the least of which is the annual Spring Wage Offensive). The past three decades have been among Japan’s most dynamic, and the postwar system of industrial relations has not been static. Moreover, it has operated within a context of comparatively full legitimacy for labor unions, collective bargaining, and legislated labor standards and protections—elements that hardly existed before 1945. All these have provided as dynamic a setting for bargained changes in Japanese labor relations as existed in the era covered in this study.

SOLOMON B. LEVINE  
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CAROL GLUCK. *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1985. Pp. xi, 407. \$37.00.

To explain why the Japanese people failed to resist rising authoritarianism and militarism before World War II, Japanese scholars invariably point to the prewar state’s success in inculcating “emperor-system ideology.” During the Meiji era (1868–1912), they argue, the new regime manufactured an orthodoxy centered around a mythic emperor with the aim of mobilizing the people behind capitalist devel-

opment and imperialist expansion. Although postwar American specialists tend to reject this interpretation, few have dealt seriously with the issues raised by their Japanese colleagues. In one of the most important books on modern Japanese history in recent years, Carol Gluck analyzes the formulation and dissemination of civic values between 1890 and 1915. Like her Japanese counterparts, she documents the rise of a pervasive ideology that glorified agrarian harmony and familial devotion to the emperor and denigrated parliamentary politics, class consciousness, and individualism.

Gluck, however, demonstrates that the emerging ideology in 1915 was not as rigid, as static, nor as imposed from above as Japanese students of emperor-system ideology claim. Rather than view the ideology as manipulation of the masses by the state, she invokes Antonio Gramsci’s concept of hegemony to argue that the Meiji regime was able to communicate the new orthodoxy because it resonated with basic beliefs then prevalent in society. Moreover, the author challenges historians who divide the nation into the hostile camps of state and society or, in contemporary parlance, between officials (*kan*) and the people (*min*). The imperial state, she illustrates, held no monopoly over defining civic values. The elements of emperor-system ideology are shown to have originated in values shared by central bureaucrats and such “popular” (*minkan*) forces as opposition politicians, journalists, and small-town notables. Witness the unexpected convergence between the oligarchs and the antigovernment press around 1890 in their portrayal of party politics as unprincipled and contrary to the public interest. The prewar system of statist moral education is similarly traced to an odd coalition in the late 1880s of Confucian court officials and progressive publicists who favored cultivating a “sense of the nation” in the people to fend off perceived Western encroachments.

Gluck assesses the content and impact of the emerging ideology in an equally creative fashion. Without denying the growing mystification of the emperor, she contests the common view that the imperial cult transformed the Japanese into blindly loyal subjects. In a suggestive chapter entitled “The Language of Ideology,” she describes the imperial orthodoxy as simply one part of a wider ideological field in which other elements such as Social Darwinism and party politics interacted and often competed over the meanings of symbolic political language. One could revere the emperor and take pride in the incomparable “national polity” (*kokutai*) yet ignore the blandishments of conservative officials to remain on the farm and to avoid buying any of the scores of independent journals available. Having examined the meanings of the emperor among the intelligentsia and local populace, Gluck

concludes that most Japanese in the late Meiji era viewed the emperor less as the focus of absolute loyalty than as a symbol of national unity, military success, and the country's rapid modernization.

In addition to her effective application of social theory, Gluck uses an astonishing variety of sources, from local newspapers to the writings of lesser-known bureaucrats. The use of popular songs and descriptions of New Year's games (for example, the contest to be state officials) makes this one of the first Western studies of modern Japan to bridge the gap between high and low culture.

Gluck is less persuasive in the last pages, in which she briefly explores the significance of late Meiji ideology for the succeeding eras of "Taishō democracy" (1910s and 1920s) and authoritarianism (1931–45). Citing legacies from the Meiji era, she relates the demise of party rule in the early 1930s to the prior "denaturing," or exclusion, of electoral politics from a legitimate place in the transmitted civic values. Yet she also suggests that the oppressive imperial orthodoxy of the 1930s was not the logical outgrowth of late Meiji ideology, which had been relatively unforced and plural. To substantiate these assertions, she would need to place the later ideologies within their historical contexts as carefully as she has done for the Meiji version. One would like to know why the ideological field accepted party governments and labor unions in 1919 but not in 1936 or what led officials and popular ideologues to rigidify the imperial orthodoxy during the 1930s but not before. That would be a separate book, of course. As it stands, post-1915 ideology is treated as an independent quantity, and Japanese scholars may justly charge Gluck with focusing on emperor-system ideology to the neglect of the institutional underpinnings of the emperor system itself—that is, the highly autonomous bureaucracy, police, and military, whose potential for imposing their will was only fully realized amid the crises of the 1930s.

The Japanese of the late Meiji period called theirs "a complicated society," and the author has offered a correspondingly complicated analysis of the diverse sources of prewar ideology. This book is not for those seeking a simple explanation of the forces responsible for war and suppression. Nonetheless, Gluck has set new standards, both methodologically and stylistically, for those working on the interrelation of politics and culture in imperial Japan.

SHELDON M. GARON  
Princeton University

ROSALIND O'HANLON. *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology: Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Western India*. (Cambridge South Asian Studies, number 30.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. xiii, 326. \$44.50.

Rosalind O'Hanlon has produced a very fine study of low-caste protest in nineteenth-century western India. In particular, she has succeeded in bringing alive the content of non-Brahman ideology and the competing versions of it, which caused conflict both within the protest movement and between it and other groups and movements in Indian society.

O'Hanlon starts with the fall of the Peshwas in 1818 and the advent of the East India Company in western India to show important improvements in the opportunities available to lower-caste people. Orthodox religious authority diminished, educational institutions were established, and access to them was widened. But Brahman dominance in the new British administration and in the early nationalist movement posed problems for lower-caste leaders. A careful delineation of the nineteenth-century regional context and a focus on Jotirao Phule and the development of his ideology combine to demonstrate the sophisticated construction of low-caste political ideologies attuned to popular culture and to social realities in Maharashtra. Most of O'Hanlon's sources are in Marathi, although she translates the titles into English in her useful bibliography; the annotated section on Phule's works will be particularly valuable to scholars. Her brief translations of parts of Phule's and others' ballads, plays, and speeches illustrate the conflicting ideologies and enliven the text for the reader. The competing interpretations of the Aryans, of King Bali, and of Shivaji developed by those formulating new identities for the lower castes and others in Maharashtra are effectively presented.

The book has some problems. The three chapters in part 2 seem episodic, less well connected to the rest of the book than they could be. The intellectual history is not always clearly related to social structure or political activities: the topics tend to be discussed separately. And, as a nonspecialist on western India, I found some of the detailed exposition of the positions taken by various newspapers, people, and organizations to be hard going. But many of these details are fascinating—such as Mali marriage reform efforts and other low-caste innovations in religious rituals—and the wealth of material should lead to more informed comparisons with social and political movements in other regions.

O'Hanlon concludes by making a strong and convincing argument that political and religious ideologies are produced in the course of social relations and not invoked later to explain or justify them—that Phule and others anticipated British or Brahman perceptions of the regional society as much as they responded to them. This is an outstanding contribution to Indian intellectual history.

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## UNITED STATES

THOMAS C. LEONARD. *The Power of the Press: The Birth of American Political Reporting*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1986. Pp. 273. \$22.50.

Journalism remains a somewhat neglected aspect of American political history. Political leaders, political ideas, and, since the 1960s, the anonymous voter have been much studied. But the link connecting leaders, ideas, and voters—the newspaper—has been less examined by historians than it deserves.

Thomas C. Leonard reminds historians of the importance of this link by connecting the traditional history of journalism with the modern work of political historians on voter turnout. He suggests that changing styles of political reporting contributed to the fabulous political participation of the nineteenth century and to the much-lamented apathy that followed in the Progressive era and that continues to this day.

In well-written, episodic chapters Leonard traces the idea of reporting politics from James Franklin to David Graham Phillips. Franklin boldly chose to report Boston's smallpox epidemic of 1721 rather than to ignore it for the sake of community growth, and his successors in the revolutionary 1760s and 1770s developed the exposé of secret government conspiracies against citizens' liberties as a staple of journalism. Yet politics remained astonishingly underreported in the early republic, even largely unrecorded with any accuracy until Robert R. Hitt of the *Chicago Tribune* took down in shorthand Abraham Lincoln's debates with Stephen Douglas in 1858.

Leonard takes a refreshing interest in the origins of photojournalism in the same era. He notes that early photography had no impact on politics because the "Homo uprights" depicted in that sluggish-lensed era merely reinforced the stately image of the establishment. Thomas Nast's anti-Tammany cartoons of the 1870s upset the conventions of press illustration by using pictures to expose corruption rather than to promote the city and its rulers.

The conventions of crime reporting, which lent such words as "graft" to political reporting, helped produce the muckraking style of journalism of the turn of the century. But the muckrakers' dramatic scrutiny of politics became, Leonard thinks, more a denunciation of politics than an impulse to reform and caused voters to despair of political participation.

This history can be tested in future studies by examining the lives of reporters, few of whom put in more than cameo appearances in this book. The author does not, for example, mention the common roots of the muckrakers' "connoisseurship of crime" and their "sober calls for changes in government" in

the disgust with bourgeois culture that Jane Adams's autobiography so clearly described (p. 162).

Nevertheless, few historians have stopped to think that political reporting even has a history and have used its results without much reflection on its conventions. Leonard offers a fresh perspective on the whole phenomenon and many original and useful observations along the way.

MARK E. NEELY, JR.

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STEPHEN M. KOHN. *Jailed for Peace: The History of American Draft Law Violators, 1658–1985*. (Contributions in Military Studies, number 49.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1986. Pp. xii, 169. \$29.95.

Pacifism and antiwar activities have a long and honorable history in the United States. Stephen M. Kohn writes that the "history and political impact of antiwar conscientious objection" have been slighted (p. 3). His book is intended to "fill that unfortunate void" (p. 4). The void, unfortunately, remains.

The author is clearly an advocate of the position he describes. Good books have emerged from engaged scholars. This book suffers not from commitment to peace but from inadequate research and a confused conceptual approach. Kohn has consulted a variety of sources, but too often he relies for critical assessment on material generated by the peace movement itself.

The author seems unclear about his topic. The title implies that he will focus on violators of draft laws from 1658 to 1985. Since there was no federal draft law to violate until 1863, he obviously has something else in mind. He classifies conscientious objectors and draft resisters as representing the same constituency, which would have surprised the New York Irish in the Civil War. He does not understand the difference between exemption from the draft (offered to ministers) and deferment, a temporary classification.

Several dubious assertions emerge in the book. Draft resistance is called one of the largest, longest, and "most successful campaigns of civil disobedience in American history" (p. 3). Yet in every war in which the nation used the draft, including Vietnam, resistance to conscription failed to interfere with the task of finding fighting men. A. Philip Randolph is praised because the author apparently believes that the black leader was conscientiously antiwar when he threatened a mass boycott of a Jim Crow draft.

The book offers a few interesting insights into draft resistance during the 1960s that would have made a nice article. Lawrence M. Baskir is consistently spelled "Biskir." Many of the notes lack page

references. The Greenwood series in military studies is ill-served by this publication.

GEORGE Q. FLYNN  
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RICHARD K. MACMASTER. *Land, Piety, Peoplehood: The Establishment of Mennonite Communities in America, 1683-1790*. (The Mennonite Experience in America, number 1.) Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald. 1985. Pp. 343. \$12.00.

Not long ago denominational historians could be content with a mastery of sermons and church records. Now Richard K. MacMaster has combined theological and institutional perspectives with conclusions derived from a careful study of tax lists, deeds, wills, and naturalization records. The resulting synthesis of social and church history not only provides a satisfying portrait of Mennonites but also broadens our understanding of major themes in colonial America.

The Mennonites left Europe to escape religious persecution and for economic advantages. Aided by their Dutch coreligionists, they came as families, not congregations, and the first immigrants provided assistance to later settlers. Mennonites arrived in Pennsylvania with certain material advantages, and few served as indentured servants. The land-warrant system permitted families to gain large enough tracts to enable grown children to live near their parents. MacMaster's analysis of three areas of settlement confirms James Lemon's conclusions on Mennonite prosperity, the diversity of agricultural produce, and the predominance of farming accompanied by a part-time pursuit of most artisan trades.

The basis for the Mennonites' community was land. When it became expensive, they joined other Germans, Scotch-Irish, and Quakers in migrating south. The Mennonites moved because they were land speculators, but also because the family orientation of their congregations required surplus lands. Mennonites were capitalist and traditionalist, individualistic and communal, "modern" and peasant. Sectarian religion did not cut them off from American life.

MacMaster argues that the Great Awakening had little influence on the Mennonites. Anabaptists could easily accept pietism because of their traditional beliefs on rebirth, bible study, and application of religious ethics to daily life. Pietistic eighteenth-century Mennonites replaced suffering with humility as the mark of discipleship. Prosperity and religious toleration made suffering seem remote and humility relevant. Pietism also allowed Mennonites to cooperate with the Lutheran and Reformed Churches by sharing schools, graveyards, and even buildings. Eventually pietism brought revivalism.

Divisions came after the revolution when evangelistic Mennonites attempted to jettison beliefs on pacifism, oaths, and antislavery and to change the nature of the religious community.

Some questions remain unanswered. MacMaster does not provide data on the number of congregations or whether membership increased, nor does he discuss the role of women or cooperation (or lack of it) with the Amish. Still, descriptions of authority within the church, ministers, sermons, pacifist witness, and growing isolation after 1783 give a comprehensive picture of the Mennonites. MacMaster's book, when joined with Charles Glatfelder's study of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, provides an excellent history of German immigrants' religion in colonial America.

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J. M. SOSIN. *English America and Imperial Inconstancy: The Rise of Provincial Autonomy, 1696-1715*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1985. Pp. xii, 287. \$26.50.

This is the third volume in J. M. Sosin's trilogy on Anglo-American political relations from the Restoration to the Hanoverian succession. Like the earlier volumes, this entry is based on extensive research in manuscript sources on both sides of the Atlantic and covers with a wealth of detail the political affairs of all twelve extant mainland colonies. Also like those volumes, it is aggressively argued—at times to the point that its usefulness is undermined by the single-mindedness of focus.

Sosin's principal argument is that provincial autonomy for colonial Americans developed earlier than historians have posited and resulted not from a policy of salutary neglect by imperial officials but from negligence or "inconstancy." In the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, British authorities abandoned James II's brief and, in Sosin's view, inconstant effort at provincial consolidation in favor of a policy of resting responsibility for controlling the American provinces in the hands of royal governors, who implemented imperial decisions in the colonies and vetoed contrary legislation. Unfortunately, those governors did not possess the means, the will, or the skill to perform this task. The biggest mistake the imperial officials made was to deny the governors independence from local pressures. They failed to grant the governors a fixed salary apart from provincial appropriations. Even more importantly, they failed to provide them with a fixed revenue for operating expenses, especially during wartime, and thus enhanced the power of the colonial assemblies and the prestige of colonial elites.

The result was a shift in the locus of power from London to the colonial capitals, as colonial elites rather than imperial officials became the dominant forces in provincial life.

Such developments owed little to colonial efforts, according to Sosin. He seems to believe that imperial control would not have been difficult to achieve if only someone in Whitehall had had the will to do it. Thus, he is little concerned with the development of colonial conceptions of politics; he assumes, without really arguing, that most of the rhetoric of colonial elites functioned principally as a cover for self-interest. He attaches little importance to colonial contacts with British politicians either. That may have been the case, but one would like to see him confront more directly the often contrary findings of some other interpreters of Anglo-American politics, especially Alison Olson and Stephen Webb.

Sosin begins this work by announcing his determination to counter the recent historiographical consensus on the primacy of local experience in colonial life; he argues that decisions made in England played at least as important a role in colonial development. That is an important assertion, but his method is inadequate to the task. For one thing, Sosin's narrowly political focus—he disavows any interest even in establishing a political "frame of reference" for those outside of colonial power networks—leaves unsettled the question of the significance of the very decisions whose importance he addresses for the lives of the vast majority of colonists. For another, the principal decision he has in mind was indecision, or irresolution, on the part of British officials, which left to colonial leaders the job of creating viable political structures built around other than imperial models.

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EDWARD J. CASHIN, editor. *Colonial Augusta: "Key of the Indian Country."* Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press. 1986. Pp. viii, 129. Cloth \$19.95, paper \$12.95.

This relatively thin volume is a cooperative effort of five scholars to move the traditional spotlight in early Georgia history from the port city of Savannah to the backcountry, where Augusta, as described by General James Edward Oglethorpe, became "the key of the Indian country" (p. vii). Published 250 years after the founding of Augusta in 1736, the project had the support of Augusta's Celebration 250 Commission, and the five chapters are expanded and well-documented versions of a series of lectures sponsored by the Georgia Endowment for the Humanities.

Louis De Vorsey, drawing on his earlier publication, *The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies* (1966), analyzes the geographical factors in the strategic location of Augusta and identifies the various Indian tribes that were central to the international struggle for the Southeast as well as to the competition among English colonies for the Indian trade. His listing of the population of native Americans does not reflect the current controversy over determining total figures initiated by recent research for Central and South America. The frontier, he suggests, was a "duality" and "should be viewed as a dynamic zone of interaction between inventive and energetic Europeans and equally capable Indians" (p. 20).

Edward J. Cashin describes the Indian traders in the critical area of Augusta. He analyzes the problems of regulation of the Indian trade by individual colonies as well as imperial efforts under the superintendents of Indian affairs in the South. Edmond Atkin and John Stuart. Although he notes Georgia's attempt to prevent South Carolina traders from taking rum to the Indians, he pays inadequate attention to the particularism of the colonies as Georgia tried to restrict Carolina traders in ways similar to South Carolina's earlier efforts to exclude Virginia traders.

The extensive search for the plans of Fort Augusta and the plat of the town failed to yield the originals to Heard Robertson and his son, Tom Robertson. Nonetheless, they were able to extrapolate, from a variety of sources, reasonable descriptions of the two and a guide for reconstruction of the fort as a part of the 250th Celebration.

Larry Ivers pursued the elusive military figures in Fort Augusta with descriptions of their personal characteristics, their arms and ammunition, and their relations with Indians. He gives major attention to the role of frontier rangers as a part of security patrols and even includes an imaginary sketch of their uniforms.

Helen Callahan examines colonial life in the fifth essay with descriptions of a cross section of society and the role of religion and education. Her most original contribution is the extent of slavery in Augusta, where the "peculiar institution" existed illegally under the Trustees and later expanded in Georgia. Her study complements the many references to Augusta in *The Fledgling Province: Social and Cultural Life in Colonial Georgia, 1733-1776* (1976) by Harold E. Davis.

This volume helps clarify the important role of Augusta in frontier expansion and the significance of the Indian trade. The essays are somewhat repetitive, and the separate segments do not provide a coherent whole. The economic and diplomatic struggles involving European powers and the Indian tribes were also much more complex than



portrayed in the limited coverage of this volume; for example, the controversial Choctaw Revolt of the 1740s is not identified.

W. STITT ROBINSON  
*University of Kansas*

W. J. RORABAUGH. *The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age in America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1986. Pp. xii, 270. \$24.95.

The first modern treatment of apprenticeship from the early colonial period through the Civil War, this volume begins by briefly describing the conventions of traditional craft training and then focuses on the forces that reduced it to a source of cheap labor. W. J. Rorabaugh sets this story of decline and disintegration within the broader and somewhat familiar context established by the new social history. Early chapters show that rapid economic change and republican ideology in the late eighteenth century, attended by the growth of evangelical religion, combined to erode the authority of master craftsmen and instill a new aggressiveness in young trainees, exacerbating the chronic problem of "runaways." By the 1820s formal indenture faded, and material rewards, including the payment of wages, replaced filial and moral obligations. The final blows came from the imposition of machine technology in the 1830s, which rendered craft skills obsolete, and from the subsequent inundation of European immigrants, who assumed semiskilled positions in the degraded trades and displaced native born craftsmen in a wide range of urban occupations by midcentury.

The process by which "factory drudge" replaced journeyman and apprentice had implications beyond the workplace, as Rorabaugh observes. Reformers, for instance, invented the high school in part as a substitute for the disciplinary void left by the end of apprenticeship. Family relations altered as young males, freed from the constraints of older obligations, became more assertive toward paternal authority—as they had toward masters. Such restive youth could often count on support from older brothers and sometimes mothers in disputes with fathers over career choice. The "collective authority" of the family thus impinged on the prerogatives of the male head of the household; the passing of apprenticeship meant more than the passing of a training system.

Rorabaugh draws on an astonishing array of biographies, autobiographies, and other first-person accounts, both published and unpublished. These comprise a tapestry rich in personal testimony and first-hand experience. The reader who prefers analysis to narrative and firm conclusion to qualified observation, however, will doubtless be disap-

pointed, and sometimes with reason. The text often becomes excessively anecdotal and burdened with details that either crowd out the larger picture or add little of substance. As for the formative forces at work, one may doubt the characterization of evangelicalism as an unambiguous solvent of employer authority; it may have also imparted a measure of discipline and renewed respect for the will of the boss, especially if apprentice and master shared the same pew, as was often the case. One may also question the emphasis placed on the advent of technology in craft degradation. Recent scholarship confirms the older finding of Adam Smith and Karl Marx that the reorganization of labor cheapened skills well in advance of machines. Such a view may stem from the disproportionate reliance on accounts penned by printers, whose trade was radically changed by power-driven machines in the 1830s.

Rorabaugh's survey includes handsome illustrations but no bibliography, an odd contradiction indeed, not to say an inconvenience for scholars who would have appreciated an accessible listing of the treasure-trove of first-person materials uncovered by the author. Nonetheless, no social historian can afford to ignore this informative book. It advances our understanding not only of apprenticeship but also of the emergence of male adolescence and of the shifting balance of power within the antebellum family.

BRUCE LAURIE  
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JOAN M. JENSEN. *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750–1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1986. Pp. xv, 271. \$25.00.

In the introduction to this meticulously researched book, Joan M. Jensen declares her intention to put "the rural majority in its proper place, at the center of the history of American women" (p. xiv). She has chosen to accomplish that goal by studying the lives of rural women in Chester County, Pennsylvania, and New Castle County, Delaware, an area comprising the southeastern hinterland of Philadelphia. Jensen is especially interested in examining the effects on rural women of the critical transition from an agricultural to a commercial economy that occurred during the early and mid-nineteenth century. The Philadelphia hinterland proved to be ideal for her purposes, since its farms moved into large-scale butter production in this era, and its Hicksite Quaker residents, male and female, were in the forefront of a variety of antebellum reform movements. In addition, the young middle-class women of the area eagerly sought employment in teaching, the novel occupation so recently opened to members of their sex.

Jensen divides the book into three sections: one examines women's work in the household, another focuses on production for the market, and the third looks at women's participation in the public realm. Many of her findings will not surprise scholars familiar with published studies of women's traditional agricultural work, their involvement in early reform movements, or their entry into the teaching profession. Still, the focus on a mid-Atlantic region simultaneously provides a welcome change from research centered on New England and confirms that patterns previously identified in New England hold for the middle states as well. Additionally, unlike most earlier researchers, Jensen discusses the lives of poor white and black women. An innovative chapter on the social geography of dependency carefully analyzes the records of the Chester County poorhouse to reveal the life histories of its female residents and the philosophies of their caretakers.

The book's most important contribution lies in its treatment of women's work in butter production for a rapidly expanding market. Jensen shows how farms in the region were transformed from diversified operations to specialized dairy farms, how butter became the area's most important "cash crop," thus placing women's manufacturing skills at the heart of the rural economy, and how the technology of churns and other butter-working tools changed to meet the increased demand. Jensen's most original sections are those that describe and analyze the material objects employed in butter making (and her similar discussion of the significance for women of the transition from sickles to scythes and cradles as harvesting implements). Here she provides a model that should encourage other historians to use physical evidence in their attempts to uncover otherwise hidden aspects of women's lives.

A final technical note: the book is marred by typographical errors, especially in its early pages (for example, pp. 19, 23, 37, 43, 46), and readers who like to follow endnotes closely, as I do, should be warned that in chapter 6 some notes are misnumbered: notes 25–29 on pages 105–06 equal notes 28–32 on page 249, and notes 30–32 on pages 108–09 equal notes 25–27 on page 249.

MARY BETH NORTON  
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RUTH H. BLOCH. *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought, 1758–1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Pp. xvi, 291. \$29.95.

In this book Ruth H. Bloch analyzes how eighteenth-century Americans viewed the millennium and how their perceptions of that reign of the saints influenced their reaction to, and views of, contemporary political, social, and religious developments.

Early chapters explore the English and American Puritan origins of American millennialism and its manifestations during the French and Indian War. A middle group of three chapters traces millennialism during the coming of the American revolution, the Revolutionary War, and the so-called critical period of the 1780s. Concluding chapters study millennialism in the 1790s, particularly how millennial themes were expressed by both Federalist foes of, and Jeffersonian supporters of, the French revolution.

This is a curious book. Had it been published ten years earlier, it would have been hailed as a substantial contribution to the history of religion and the American revolution. Most of the book's major points, however, have already been made by James West Davidson and Nathan O. Hatch in separate books on the millennium in eighteenth-century America, both published in 1977. Bloch has little new to add to what Davidson and Hatch have already told us about how Americans viewed the millennium and how their views contributed to the revolution and the party battles of the early national era. It is true that Davidson and Hatch limited their research to New England and that Bloch includes references to sources outside New England, and it is also true that she uses sources other than sermons (particularly newspapers and almanacs). These additional sources and expanded geographic coverage, however, only serve to confirm conclusions earlier reached by Davidson and Hatch.

A basic problem with this book is that Bloch expands the term "millennialism" to include virtually any statement that suggested America would have a glorious future. To her credit, Bloch in her introduction recognizes the difficulties in separating true millennial thought from the broader providential world view of early America and states that she will use millennialism to refer only to "statements directly referring to the visionary prophesies of the Bible" (p. xvi). As the book progresses, however, millennialism begins to include rhetoric that does not meet this standard. For example, Bloch quotes the poets John Trumbull and Philip Freneau on the United States becoming a "glorious empire" and entering a "golden reign." Neither Trumbull nor Freneau made any reference to the Bible, but Bloch now assures us that "such statements, whether or not they included scriptural references, inevitably carried millennial overtones" (p. 84). This expanded "millennialism" culminates in an entire chapter on the millennialism of "radical Enlightenment utopians" (such as Thomas Paine and Elihu Palmer), even though Bloch states that their "secular utopian prophecy was not based on the authority of Scripture, nor did it assume the active role of a providential God" (p. 187). If not, how can their visions of

world revolution and human perfection be "millennial" by the author's own definition?

The book is well written, and Bloch has mastered the relevant primary sources and secondary studies. It is essentially a derivative work, however, that contributes little to an expanded knowledge of millennialism in eighteenth-century America.

JOHN F. BERENS  
Northern Michigan University

JOHN F. ROCHE. *The Colonial Colleges in the War for American Independence*. (National University Publications.) Millwood, N.Y.: Associated Faculty Presses. 1986. Pp. iii, 210. \$21.95.

In this brief volume John F. Roche provides a detailed account of the physical and institutional developments affecting America's colleges during the revolutionary era. Roche divides his narrative into three periods. For the first, covering the movement from rebellion to revolution, 1765–75, Roche examines such issues as the evolving political stances of the faculties at the various colleges and student involvement in protest ranging from the selection of politically charged topics for debate to the formation of militia companies. A second set of chapters, covering the war years, details the physical, educational, and economic damage the conflict wrought on the colleges and notes the political and military roles of faculty and students in the war. A final chapter relates the colleges' readjustment to a civilian environment and emphasizes the new states' fresh interest in higher education and the collegiate efforts to recover from the impact of war.

With respect to the topics it covers, the book is a gold mine of information. Based on thorough primary research and secondary reading, it presents excellent accounts of faculty political leanings, of student prewar demonstrations against British policies, and of student participation in the Revolutionary War, to mention just a few well-treated subjects.

Roche's work is nevertheless unsatisfying. The little analysis that underlies the narrative seems flawed. For instance, Roche notes in the preface that contemporaries expected that "college presidents and professors would provide leadership in bringing forth the virtuous commonwealth. Their students were expected to lead the next generation in that continuing crusade" (p. i). Yet nowhere does he analyze interaction between teachers and students. Teachers took stands on political issues. Students did the same. But the reader gains no insight into whether these were related phenomena. Roche does not explore the influence of faculty on the extracurricular activities of students, and he hardly mentions activity in the classroom (see pages 10–11 for the only significant treatment of the curriculum).

Roche seems to undervalue his evidence. He contends that the colleges were not "major centers" of revolutionary activity (but does not define his term) and then demonstrates thorough faculty and student involvement in both prerevolutionary unrest and events related to the war. Colonial America had few formal institutions for association. Of those in existence during the revolutionary era, only the legislatures and the bar associations, where extant, were more fully politicized than the colleges. Certainly, the colleges were more involved in the agitation than the often treated Congregational Church.

In sum, if you want to know what happened at America's colleges during the revolution, this is the place to start. If you want to know why it happened, you will need to look elsewhere.

DAVID W. ROBSON  
John Carroll University

RICHARD B. MORRIS. *Witnesses at the Creation: Hamilton, Madison, Jay, and the Constitution*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. 1985. Pp. vii, 279. \$16.95.

Nineteenth-century historians from New England who were convinced that all worthwhile American ideas and institutions came from "the Eastern states" were off-target. Richard B. Morris's book moves the ideological center both southward and westward—to the homes of Alexander Hamilton and John Jay in New York City.

This history of the writing and ratifications of the Constitution, timed for and directed at a bicentennial audience, focuses on the authors of *The Federalist*. Surprisingly, John Jay, who wrote so little as Publius and who was heavily involved in diplomacy while Hamilton and James Madison were being founding fathers, looms largest. Morris's editing of Jay's papers together with his research for the award-winning *The Peacemakers* (1965) obviously left him with an enormous respect for Jay. He expresses his respect in this constitutional history by giving inordinate attention to Jay's diplomatic activities and to his ideas and letters, which may (or may not) have affected some delegates to the federal convention.

The tone is epitomized by the penultimate paragraph, which sums up Hamilton's and Madison's later lives in fifteen words each. In contrast, Morris allots sixty-six words to Jay, referring to his political activities, his home at Bedford, and the death of his "dearest companion" Sally Jay. Building up Jay as a major contributor to the constitutional heritage of the United States can be more easily accepted than Morris's apparent need to downgrade Madison. Madison is lampooned for nearly all of his youthful endeavors. The one activity that Morris cannot fault

is Madison's leadership in establishing religious freedom.

The book is vigorously and entertainingly written, especially the sections on diplomacy and Shays's Rebellion. It is intended as "the source book and companion volume" for a six-part, prime-time television series in 1987. This purpose may account for Morris's tendency to put words in the mouths of his "characters" and to speculate about facts, which reaches a crescendo when nine "might-have-beens" or "one-can-well-imagines" appear in four paragraphs on pages 250–51. As an extreme example, we are treated to the fulsome toast that Gouverneur Morris might have delivered had he been at a party that Sally Jay might have given. We learn further what Madison might have muttered if he had been there, but at least his possible party muttering is paraphrased rather than quoted directly.

DONALD O. DEWEY  
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Los Angeles

DAVID P. CURRIE. *The Constitution in the Supreme Court: The First Hundred Years, 1789–1888*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1985. Pp. xiii, 504. \$55.00.

One of the many publications now appearing as the bicentennial of the American Constitution approaches, this book by David P. Currie will survive as a valuable reference beyond the transitory period of unusual attention to the subject. It is a learned commentary on cases of the Supreme Court over the first hundred years from the chief justiceship of John Jay through that of Morrison Waite. Within these boundaries, it provides immense detail and rigorous, often devastating criticism of legal techniques and logic employed by the justices.

A look at the author's sources reveals his scholarly perspective. In his copious notes (frequently taking up the larger part of a page), he cites judicial reports more than any other type of evidence, but he also uses articles in law journals, legal monographs, and relatively few historical studies and biographies. Among the historical works, he favors the Holmes series on the Supreme Court, the works of the venerable Charles Warren, and those of Albert Beveridge for the early years. Although he concludes that "the history of the land is in the opinions of the Court" (p. 453), he confines his discussion to the texts of the Constitution and of judicial opinions. As a result, he portrays doctrinal development not the political and economic context of his cases. In this respect, historians may find the volume rather abstract and incomplete in its interpretations.

On its own terms, the work has many positive and some negative features. The critique of *Dartmouth College* (1819) is thorough yet slights the relevance of

the common-law definition of private, charitable corporations. *Ogden v. Saunders* (1827), the bankruptcy decision reducing the possible scope of the contract clause, rightly emerges as a highlight, although the important second decision, excepting interstate debts, does not. *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824) appears as a statesmanlike declaration of nationalism, but its inconclusiveness concerning state power over interstate commerce is obscured by discursive comment and annotation. Currie distinctly approves Joseph Story's dissent in *Charles River Bridge* (1837), but he does not exploit the argument based on the power of eminent domain found in his assessment of other decisions. He credibly attacks *Dred Scott* (1857) for its dubious ruling against congressional power over slavery in the territories and extends hearty approval of Benjamin Curtis's dissent. Apart from *Milligan* (1866) and *Texas v. White* (1869), the section on constitutional issues of the Civil War is probably the weakest in the book. Determination of black rights was correct, Currie believes, because the Court refused to travel beyond the textual authority of the Fourteenth Amendment. And Chief Justice Morrison Waite had good grounds to resist an unwarranted development of substantive due process as a check on state economic regulation. Nevertheless, the author's explanation of the origins and particularly the rationale of due process is less comprehensive and clear than one could wish.

Despite his severe criticism of the justices' craftsmanship, Currie closes with favorable remarks about a number of figures (John Marshall, Story, Curtis, Samuel Miller, and others) and the overall achievements of the high tribunal in its first century. After moving through these pages, the reader may be a bit surprised by this final evaluation.

MAURICE BAXTER  
Indiana University

NORMAN L. ROSENBERG. *Protecting the Best Men: An Interpretive History of the Law of Libel*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1986. Pp. 369. \$29.95.

Norman L. Rosenberg's study of the history of libel law draws much of its strength from its historical, historiographical, and contextual orientation. Making clear at the outset that the history of free expression cannot be seen as a natural evolutionary process and questioning the idea that one can discover an "original understanding" of the First Amendment, Rosenberg treats libel controversies as bound by time and culture. The outcomes of such controversies, however, have had the didactic function of alerting changing publics to the current limits of permissible political criticism.

Rosenberg devotes much attention to the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He treats the revolutionary period as one in which deference to the political power of the propertied was potentially challenged by a movement toward wider democracy and more participatory political and legal institutions. That movement was tempered by a constitutionally sanctioned governmental system that left intact the traditional ways of containing libel through the common law and statutory enactments. One such law was the Sedition Act of 1798, which reflected the Hamiltonian view, later enshrined in the early nineteenth century, that, despite the First Amendment, unbridled license should be prohibited. The spirit of abuse and calumny should not go unchallenged. The press should not be totally free. One should be confined to publishing "the truth" for good motives and for justifiable ends. Such limited expression was permissible, however, even though it reflected on government, on magistrates, or on individuals. This view, along with an early turn toward the concept of the marketplace of ideas, extended well through the Jacksonian period. By the late nineteenth century, especially with the influential writings of Thomas M. Cooley, a new libertarian theory linked common law doctrine and marketplace imagery to judicial guarantees of free expression. As a judge, however, Cooley backed away, as did other state and federal judges in this period, and, by the late nineteenth century, discussion about defamation law returned to an essentially Hamiltonian framework. The boundaries of free expression were to be drawn at libelous falsehoods.

By the twentieth century libel law ceased to be the central focus for legal discussion of free expression. With the beginnings of the national surveillance state during World War I, libel law receded into the background of what was becoming known as First Amendment constitutional theory. For the next fifty years libel debates took place at the periphery of First Amendment discussion, and libel law became the primary concern of those interested in the mass media and of specialists in tort law. The one important challenge came from the legal realists, who were careful to point out that a considerable gap separated neo-Hamiltonian doctrines from the actual process of public discussion. This was especially true since the marketplace generally favored power and, particularly, the powerful media and excluded access to minority views, unpopular ideas, and challenges to various aspects of the system.

Rosenberg makes clear that libel law has never operated independently of historical forces. Its history further casts some doubt on the positivist, instrumentalist approach to law. Thus, the treatment of libel has been cyclical. But, while moving back and forth from restriction to occasional permissiveness, the law has been consistent in one

fashion. Legal protection for the right of reputation has been available primarily to the "best" people—wealthy and powerful men in the forefront of civil life. Certainly, anyone looking at the Reagan administration can see that fact with a new clarity. Rosenberg thus tells us what many of us know but do not like to admit: law is reflective of power and all too frequently subservient to it.

PAUL L. MURPHY  
*University of Minnesota*

SUSAN G. DAVIS. *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1986. Pp. xi, 235. \$32.95.

Susan G. Davis, a professor of communication, blends the techniques of historian and folklorist in this book. The work is designed to analyze parades as an important mode of communication in a stratified society marked by conflict and change. Indeed, Davis emphasizes that the parades of antebellum Philadelphia reveal a society marked by class distinctions, class conflict, and change.

Because the controversial volunteer militia units played a crucial role in establishing parade traditions in Philadelphia, Davis devotes about half of her study to the militia and issues concerning the militia. Workers' parades as class dramas are analyzed in one of the work's six chapters. According to Davis, propertied elites could use parades most effectively. In fact, the streets never were truly open to all for parades. For example, women rarely appeared in parades; blacks could serve as musicians but risked injury if they paraded in support of issues they deemed important. Moreover, some parades were used to sustain bigotry and injustice just as others were used, especially by working people, to strive for greater socioeconomic or political justice.

The book, unfortunately, covers less than its subtitle suggests. Although Davis offers intriguing comments about other periods, her explicitly stated focus is on the antebellum city from circa 1790 to 1860. Except for close analysis of the great parade of 1788 in support of the Constitution, most of the parades given as examples occurred in the period 1820–50 and especially in the 1830s. The work is weakened by the author's tendency to offer sweeping generalizations on thin or questionable evidence. There are occasional factual errors, such as turning James Wilson, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, into a loyalist. Still, Davis is surely right to emphasize that parades are worth studying in all their complexity. She is sensitive to and considers how diverse factors such as class, race, ethnicity, and gender influenced or were reflected in Philadelphia's parades. The work also illustrates some of the possibilities of an interdisciplinary ap-



proach. In sum, Davis's clearly written short study is a useful contribution that will be of interest and value to a variety of scholars.

JOHN K. ALEXANDER  
University of Cincinnati

ROBERT BRUCE MULLIN. *Episcopal Vision/American Reality: High Church Theology and Social Thought in Evangelical America*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1986. Pp. xvi, 247. \$20.00.

Robert Bruce Mullin presents "an imaginative reconstruction of a lost world view" (p. xi). To his credit he does not claim that his subject is central for understanding the culture of the day and crucial in shaping subsequent development. Only a small elite, mostly around New York, shared the early nineteenth-century high church view. After the Civil War it was "a dead theology and a discarded tradition" (p. 212).

Mullin's treatment is no more trendy than his subject. He primarily studies the thought of the leadership of the movement. This approach no doubt reflects the wisdom of Mullin's mentor, the late Sydney Ahlstrom, and has a record of fruitful historical literature to commend it. Nowhere is this method more appropriate than for the elitist high church Episcopalians. Mullin might be faulted, however, for not filling in the social and even the ecclesiastical contexts a bit more. We never get a clear picture, for instance, of the membership or size of the constituency of the high church bishops. Occasionally we hear of their debates with evangelical Episcopalians, but no systematic comparison is made of either their leaderships or their constituencies. On the other hand, there would be little reason to study this group if the main point were to detail its obvious social elitism and conservatism. Their unfashionable thought has some fascination and is illuminating at least as a contrast. Mullin presents this well.

Bishop John Henry Hobart (1775–1830) was the chief of the high church apologists. With their Anglican heritage now a liability, they centered their exclusivist claims on an appeal to the precedents of the uncorrupted ancient church. Mullin might have done more to explore the parallels to this primitivism and to point out the ironies of high church sectarianism and of Episcopal condemnations of church political involvements. Mullin is excellent, however, at demonstrating the influence of the Enlightenment on the high church apologetic. Faced with the era's crisis in authority, "the patristic record was to them what watch-laden beaches were to Paley" (p. 144).

Preromantic and pre-Tractarian, the Hobartians' views lacked modern historical consciousness.

Mullin traces well their struggles with these challenges, which eventually made their outlook obsolete. For a time, however, the Hobartians provided an alternative to the evangelicals and debated them as "modern-day Achilleses or Hectors . . . hurling tracts and broadsides against the other" (p. 26). High churchmen saw faddish evangelical causes, such as temperance and abolition, as "inebriated by too copious draughts of the spirit of the age" (p. 129).

Such attitudes had difficulty surviving the triumph of the mentality of the evangelical crusade during the Civil War.

GEORGE M. MARSDEN  
Divinity School  
Duke University

LOUISE L. STEVENSON. *Scholarly Means to Evangelical Ends: The New Haven Scholars and the Transformation of Higher Learning in America, 1830–1890*. (New Studies in American Intellectual and Cultural History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1986. Pp. xi, 221. \$25.00.

Louise L. Stevenson's book refines our understanding of the development of modern scholarship and the secular university in the nineteenth century. Whereas many scholars have recounted a direct passage from the traditional college to the research-oriented university, she finds a third, transitional stage at mid-nineteenth-century Yale. Influenced by romanticism and their evangelical heritage, the New Haven scholars forged a definition of scholarship and the college that combined faith in divine truth, modern methods of inquiry, and a conviction that higher liberal, but not secular, education was essential to the training of young men.

The New Haven scholars active between 1840 and 1900 included James Dwight Dana, George Park Fisher, Noah Porter, William Dwight Whitney, and Theodore Dwight Woolsey. They retained their faith in truth embodied in "a universal, divine unity, or order" (p. 3), but they were also scholars in the modern sense, "committed to using the most advanced learning of their age" (p. 1). Stevenson describes their dual role in an age of transition: "They participated in the modernizing process insofar as they adopted scholarship and scholarly vocation as means, but they used these means to resurrect a world infused with religious meaning" (p. 8). She examines both their contributions to scholarship (purged of theological overtones, books by Dana and Whitney are still in print) and their faith in religious purpose and divine order. The Yale student at midcentury was thus exposed both to modern scholarship and to the conviction that it ought to be used to improve the world in accord-

ance with God's order. But, as Stevenson notes, many of the students of the New Haven scholars, such as Daniel Coit Gilman and Andrew Dickson White, rejected their teachers' theological assumptions yet retained their allegiance to scholarship. These students, Stevenson argues, created the modern secular research university.

Stevenson's book contributes significantly to the continuing reassessment of nineteenth-century scholarship that has been undertaken by Thomas Bender, Thomas Haskell, Bruce Kuklick, and others. She persuasively demonstrates that the social and intellectual context of New Haven supported these scholars' efforts to find a middle way between the competing claims of evangelicalism and scholarship. Stevenson examines how thought and writing of the most important scholars contributed to their goal of creating a scholarly Christian man. The weakness of the volume is its concentration on Yale. We now know that a third pattern in higher education existed at Yale in the mid-nineteenth century but wonder whether Yale was an exception or whether the pattern of New Haven scholarship can be found more widely. Nonetheless, Stevenson forces us to reexamine more broadly the transition from college to university and the values and achievements of those who wrought the change. The change can never again seem so simple and straightforward.

DANIEL J. WILSON  
Muhlenberg College

CONSTANCE M. MCGOVERN. *Masters of Madness: Social Origins of the American Psychiatric Profession*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for the University of Vermont. 1985. Pp. xiii, 262. \$22.50.

In this study Constance M. McGovern aspires to tell the story of the "115 ante-bellum doctors-turned-psychiatrists" who headed American insane asylums before 1860. She seeks to go beyond a mere institutional history of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane by probing "the personalities and experience" of "the men themselves" (p. x).

The joining of biography to social history leads to some interesting conclusions about the eighty-three men McGovern studies (those who held medical superintendencies for more than five years). Young doctors such as Thomas Kirkbridge and Samuel Woodward struggled to make a living in the chaotic, deregulated medical marketplace of the 1830s and 1840s. They were eventually drawn to asylum work not only because it was an exciting practice and a focal point of moral reform but also because it offered a secure future at a sizable salary. Once launched on their asylum careers, these men stayed

put with remarkable frequency; more than a third remained at their posts until death.

It does not seem surprising that financial calculation played a part in the doctors' career choices. McGovern at times seems overeager to stress it, as in her speculation that salary was "uppermost" in Woodward's mind since in a letter to his brother-in-law it was "the only matter about which he sought advice" (p. 81). Material motives do not have to be uppermost to be significant. McGovern's laudable determination not to overlook dollars and cents tends to obscure the mental world of the superintendents. She might have given equal weight to her observation that they saw themselves as fathers of extended "families" of patients. Perhaps the seriousness with which they took their roles as fathers can shed some light on why they chose to remain at the helm for decades in the face of exhausting work schedules and increasingly intractable patients.

As a social portrait the volume is sometimes limited by the small number of cases. McGovern claims, for example, that the alienists delayed getting married "a full two years more" than other antebellum professionals (p. 52). But her conclusion is based on only twenty-four individuals, a statistically dubious group. Even if the sample turns out to be sufficient, one wonders about the rhetorical "full" when the alienists in fact put off marriage only 1.3 years more than ministers and 1.9 years more than lawyers—McGovern's two nonmedical professional groups. One wonders too about the personal and cultural meaning of postponed marriage, a question the author does not pursue. She characterizes it simply as delayed gratification, but that conclusion needs to be argued, not taken for granted. Remaining single might have been frustrating but less frustrating than embracing family responsibilities in the absence of adequate resources.

The real potential of social analysis emerges only when it is put in the broader context of cultural history. McGovern's greatest strength is her interest in the words of the superintendents themselves, as expressed in their letters. Even here, however, she could have gone further to interpret their rhetoric. Pliny Earle's infatuation with "all the movements of the internal and somewhat complicated machinery of an asylum, made as if they were timed and directed by the swinging of a pendulum" cries out for cultural analysis (p. 106). As David Brion Davis has shown in his indispensable collection *Ante-Bellum American Culture* (1979) the antebellum preoccupation with "family government" was intricately linked to a new zeal for scientific and mechanical discovery. McGovern has made a valuable start, but the full story of the superintendents will emerge only when they are rooted more deeply in their cultural soil.

RICHARD WIGHTMAN FOX  
Reed College

EDWARD M. COFFMAN. *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784–1898*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1986. Pp. ix, 514. \$35.00.

"The wealth of sources awed me" (p. 491) wrote Edward M. Coffman regarding the manuscripts, printed documents, personal narratives, newspaper entries, and books that he ferreted out for his social history of the Old Army (the Regular Army). Originally, he intended his narrative to reach 1940 but had to draw back to 1898. I, in turn, am awed by the quantity, quality, and diversity of the sources that Coffman used and by the superb control he exercised over the mass of information to write a fascinating history.

His method is not sociological. Although he uses three categories (officers, women and children, and enlisted men), he does not lose the people whose writing he used; they remain individuals. His method is not psychohistorical; he does not attempt to psychoanalyze the army personnel, all long dead. Instead he tells what his sources said of the conditions under which they lived and how they reacted to them. The result is a very interesting book that is also an encyclopedia of useful information. Scholars and serious readers will be able to draw what they need because the index is thorough and contains topical entries such as desertion, disease, religion, and so on.

Coffman arranged his history in eight chapters. The first treats the Regular Army from 1784 to the War of 1812. Because the book is a portrait of the peacetime army, he skips the war. Three chapters follow on the period 1815–60, one each for officers, women and children (they were an integral part of the army community), and enlisted men. We skip the Civil War and reach three chapters on the years 1865–98, one each again for officers, women and children, and enlisted men. The last chapter, only five pages, is a summary. The book includes eighty-four pages of valuable notes and a ten-page essay on sources.

The Regular Army was always small in peacetime, partly because of fear of that kind of military force, but mostly from penuriousness, stemming from an aversion to a standing army. Since few Americans troubled themselves about the Old Army, the living conditions for enlisted men were harsh: shoddy uniforms, painful and short-lived shoes, unpalatable and inadequate rations, poor quarters, monotonous duty, and faulty sanitary conditions (one bath tub for 100 men). The author states more than once that up to the Civil War the army existed because of the Indians. Without foreign-born men the enlisted ranks would perennially have been too thin.

Coffman records progress. By the 1890s conditions for the enlisted men had improved; drunkenness and desertion had declined. The Indians were

no longer the reason for the existence of the standing army. In 1898 the United States was nearly ready to modernize its army to make it something more than a frontier constabulary.

Coffman's portrait of the peacetime Regular Army draws together more information about this small (at the time) institution than has ever been collected before. He has created an interesting, useful book that is an original contribution to our knowledge of American society.

JOHN K. MAHON  
*University of Florida*

WILLIAM S. COKER and THOMAS D. WATSON. *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie and Company and John Forbes and Company, 1783–1847*. Foreword by J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR. Pensacola: University of West Florida Press, or University Presses of Florida, Gainesville. 1986. Pp. xix, 428. \$30.00.

This book is the most comprehensive account of the Panton, Leslie firm and its successors yet to appear. Although many of us have been aware of the company's role in the international rivalries of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, that awareness has been only partial and episodic. William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson have corrected that deficiency. William Panton and his Scotch partners were loyalists during the American revolution who founded a trading company to supply the Indian tribes—eventually including the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Seminoles—in the Southeast. With considerable diplomatic skill as well as commercial acumen, Panton recruited the influential Creek leader Alexander McGillivray as a member of his firm and used timely gifts to gain the friendship of several Spanish officials. In this way Panton developed a profitable Indian trade using supplies from British sources that he sold from bases in Spanish Florida to tribes living in areas claimed by the infant United States. The establishment of this trade was no small accomplishment considering the shifting and frequently conflicting policies of Spain, England, and the emerging United States.

As the older partners died off the new members who reorganized as John Forbes and Company became less anti-American than the old loyalists had been. They began frequently to cooperate with the new nation and often sold supplies to new settlers as they had earlier sold to Spaniards. As Forbes and Company acquired large land grants in payment of accrued and overdue Indian debts, it gradually shifted its emphasis from trade to real estate. It also became involved in extensive litigation arising from conflicting claims to land, especially after Florida

was ceded to the United States. Not only was the litigation of consequence to the developing Florida Territory but also Panton's heirs were still pursuing their claims seven decades after his death. An excellent chapter on the Vidal case demonstrates how that suit embroiled Andrew Jackson and the outgoing Spanish governor in a controversy that landed the governor in jail. The writ ordering Jackson to release the outraged Spaniard is generally regarded as the beginning of civil judicial process in American Florida, although Coker and Watson show clearly how amorphous that process was at the time.

This volume is the outgrowth of a thirteen-year project sponsored by the University of West Florida, the University of Florida, and the Florida Historical Society that has enabled the authors to gather two million pages of documents on the firm from depositories in several countries. Keeping the firm sharply in focus, they have used that material to portray the central role of the company in the history of the southeastern region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The succinct foreword by J. Leitch Wright, Jr. provides an excellent contextual framework for the book.

JERRELL H. SHOFNER  
*University of Central Florida*

DAVID RICHARD KASSERMAN. *Fall River Outrage: Life, Murder, and Justice in Early Industrial New England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1986. Pp. x, 280. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$14.95.

This is a superb book whose brilliance lies in the choice of topic—a sensational murder case of 1833 featuring as victim a Fall River “mill girl,” pregnant and unmarried, and as the accused a prominent Methodist minister. David Richard Kasserman traces the crime in meticulous detail and recreates the subsequent trial with drama and tension. Throughout, he is alive to the alignment of forces that made the courtroom collision so compelling at the time: the successful defense of the accused relied on an assault on the virtue of the victim, Sarah Cornell, and the industrial world she lived in; the prosecution of Ephraim K. Avery involved both a defense of that world and an attack, similar to that of antimasonry, on the tightly controlled inner world of an ascendant Methodism. Thus, the trial became “a contest between two emergent institutions, both of which believed that the opportunity for future growth depended on a favorable verdict by the Jury” (p. 3).

Even this brief sketch suggests how centrally the case touches issues and changes at the heart of Jacksonian America, a lightning flash illuminating an otherwise clouded, elusive landscape, and how useful this book will be not only for scholars but also

for general readers and students, for whom it should serve as a spectacular teaching book.

Kasserman, an anthropologist, is at his strongest in dealing with the microcosm of the community, the crime, and the courtroom. Perhaps too much of the book is given over to a dramatic hour-by-hour recounting of the trial, necessitating a good deal of repetition, and the author seems reluctant to move far beyond this frame. Where the court record takes in a wider scope, as in its exposure of the workings of Methodism, the approach works well. But other dimensions central to the story and its larger meaning cannot be engaged in comparable depth from this vantage—particularly the place of industrial work and the changing lives of women such as Cornell (not a classic “mill girl” at all, it turns out, but a single journeywoman tailor of thirty, who had moved in and out of factory work). Similarly, Kasserman's method does not permit the fullest exploration of the sustained reality of the trial-as-phenomenon, in press, sermon, pamphlet, and popular culture.

Staged as a courtroom drama limited to one major set, perhaps the book should have addressed the wider cultural issues raised by the trial, like a film version “opening up” the same script. Indeed, it literally could provide the basis for an American “*Martin Guerre*.” Meanwhile, historians can extrapolate to that broader screenplay, and students can be invited to imagine and explore it, based on the compelling story Kasserman presents so thoughtfully and skillfully.

MICHAEL FRISCH  
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ROBERT E. MAY. *John A. Quitman: Old South Crusader*. (Southern Biography Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1985. Pp. xviii, 465. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$19.95.

Few political leaders in the antebellum South were as colorful, or ultimately as puzzling, as John Quitman. A bright, ambitious immigrant minister's son from New York's Hudson Valley, he came to Natchez, Mississippi, in the 1820s with modest means, some indifferent legal training, and a passionate disposition. Within a decade he had launched a successful law practice, made an opportune marriage that brought him the foundations of successful plantation operations, and won a following as a political leader in the Jacksonian wing of the Democratic party. He served as state chancellor, legislator, governor, and congressman, a career interrupted twice by military experiences in the Texas revolution and in the war against Mexico. After that war he emerged as one of the most outspoken “fire

eatery" in the South, a leading conspirator in the efforts to "liberate," and then annex, Cuba, and, yet, a respectable leader (second only to his long-time political rival, Jefferson Davis) of southerners who were increasingly defensive about slavery and anxious to secede from the Union.

It seems odd that no full-length biography of Quitman has appeared since the out-dated work of J. F. H. Claiborne. In filling this gap, Robert E. May has provided us with a carefully wrought, meticulously documented work. He has examined all of Quitman's extant letters and all material related to his career. Yet the work seems strangely sterile, a clear but slightly plodding narrative that suffers from tunnel vision. May concentrates on his central figure, warts and all, but does not convincingly explain his character or his significance. May pays relatively little attention to the social and economic factors that comprise the larger societal context of his story. In particular, the insights of family and cultural history, of such studies as those by Bertram Wyatt-Brown and Drew Gilpin Faust, and the suggestive work on the movement for secession by William Barney are mentioned but seldom used to give us insight into what made Quitman tick. How and why did a man who gained wealth and position with ease, as did others in that part of the South, where many aristocrats were self-made, avidly pursue a military and public career with an almost self-destructive zeal? Why did he become the spokesman for the men on the make in the Natchez district, the state, and the region? Why was he such an ardent defender of the old order? Perhaps the ultimate irony is that, after the failure of the rebellion he had helped start but did not live to see, his reputation sank into virtual oblivion outside his state. In all fairness, Quitman's letters give few clues on such matters, and May has contributed a solid, workmanlike portrait.

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Davis

MICHAEL O'BRIEN. *A Character of Hugh Legaré*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1985. Pp. xiii, 356.

Hugh Swinton Legaré was a lawyer, legislator, orator, commentator, classicist, diplomat, and attorney general of the United States. As a child he suffered from the effects of a smallpox vaccination that left him with a mild but definite case of dwarfism, and this malformation contributed to his brooding personality and preoccupation with the life of the mind. After a precocious career at South Carolina College, he studied at the University of Edinburgh, where he became fascinated with civil law. Temperamentally a

critic rather than an advocate, he blamed the "deep rooted prejudice against bookish men" for his failure to achieve rapid success in law and politics (p. 36). Even as the nullification movement demanded action and commitment from this would-be politician, he struggled instead to remain scholarly and detached, displaying his erudition in the newly founded *Southern Review*.

Michael O'Brien rightly emphasizes Legaré's inward struggle over nullification as the turning point of his adult life. His hasty departure from Charleston in 1832 to become American chargé d'affaires in Brussels began the process that alienated him from the Charleston circle that had nurtured him in the city's more prosperous, more cosmopolitan days. Returning to Carolina in 1836, he was installed in Congress to replace an unruly follower of John C. Calhoun. When Legaré, too, asserted a measure of independence, he found himself isolated. Old political allies recalled his half-hearted Unionism and convenient sojourn in Belgium: "while we were traitors and took the penalty here for being so—he was hardly ever hit, even by a spent shot" (p. 236).

As attorney general in John Tyler's administration, Legaré hoped to infuse the common law with some of the systematizing potential of the civil law. His success was limited by the nature both of his office and of American jurisprudence, but he continued, under the admiring eye of Justice Joseph Story, to cite civil law principles in arguments before the Supreme Court. Steeped in international law, he was a valuable advisor on foreign policy and was appointed *ad interim* secretary of state shortly before he died.

In clarity of focus, breadth of research, and sensitivity to nuance, O'Brien far surpasses Legaré's previous biographers. Although his Legaré almost lacks an emotional dimension, O'Brien meticulously explicates Legaré's scholarship and praises the expatriate Carolinian as a synthesizer who, drawing on German sources, "modernized the case for classics" in America (p. 55). His ultimate purpose for undertaking a life of Legaré, however, is slightly muddled. On the one hand, he calls his study a "character" and explains that not "every feature should be comprehended in it." On the other hand, as biographer, he aspires to portray "Hugh Legaré, not the history of a Southern intellectual, or a slaveholder, or a classicist, or a lawyer" (pp. xii–xiii). O'Brien has written a fine intellectual biography, but he has not quite delivered a whole man.

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RUTH POLK PATTERSON. *The Seed of Sally Good'n: A Black Family of Arkansas, 1833–1953*. Lexington:



University Press of Kentucky, 1985. Pp. xv, 183. \$19.00.

Describing the family homestead at Muddy Fork and recalling the details of daily life during the 1930s and 1940s, Ruth Polk Patterson traces her family from Arkansas frontier slavery to the present day in an easily read, nostalgic style. The "seed" for the family tree began with Sally, bought from the Cherokees by a fourth-generation American, Taylor Polk. The surname derives from "Sally Good'n," a favorite folk song of Arthur Polk (Sally's grandson, the author's father).

The concubine Sally reared her master's mulatto children in the shadow of the big house where Taylor Polk lived with his wife and legitimate children. Supposedly, Sally's tryst with another slave produced her uncharacteristically dark-skinned fourth child. For this indiscretion, her owner sold Sally and her young daughter, neither to be heard from again.

John Spencer, third child of Taylor Polk and Sally, had a unique relationship with his father-owner: throughout Taylor Polk's life he protected and provided for Spencer. Although Spencer remained a slave until after the Civil War, his father singled him out for privileged chores, education, and association with his legitimate, white half-brothers. Free, Spencer carved a home out of the frontier to shelter succeeding generations of the mulatto Polk family and eventually owned 560 acres and fathered ten children.

Focusing on color and class divisions among Afro-Americans and on relationships of mulattoes and their white kin, the author argues that Spencer Polk lived midway between black and white worlds. His deference, prosperity, and humble generosity earned respect from local whites; simultaneously, he remained aloof from dark-skinned Afro-Americans and gained their cool admiration. Some of Spencer's daughters refused to accept their brother Arthur's darker-skinned wife, causing a division in the extended family. Arthur's wife was not allowed in certain sections of the house. The author deals candidly with most sensitive issues, but she never explains the reaction of patriarch Spencer Polk to his daughters' having children out of wedlock. Also, did whites or blacks father his grandchildren?

As an interesting family story, this book is useful to professionals primarily because of the paucity of historical studies on the Afro-American experience in Arkansas. Aside from archaeology and genealogy, the author uses mainly oral history, but without critical analysis. Much of the book is based on informed speculation, rumors, recollections, and conjecture; the evidence is not conclusive enough to support many of the author's arguments. Patterson believes that culture was more important than race

and pulled the Polks closer to the white community until 1896 and *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which she sees as the turning point of black-white relations. She also contends that poorer whites almost single-handedly provoked racial violence and animosity. The author delineates the origins of various customs but does not explain why many white southerners commonly exhibited "Africanisms." These and other issues are more complex than this book suggests.

The resulting narrative is clearly a labor of love; it would be a rare family that would not appreciate a similar history of its own.

ORVILLE VERNON BURTON  
*University of Illinois*

RICHARD GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO, *La Familia: Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1848 to the Present*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984. Pp. xv, 173. Cloth \$18.95, paper \$7.95.

With so much recent interest in family history, a study of the Mexican-American family was to be anticipated and even expected because Mexican Americans, as has been suggested by everyone from sociologists to politicians, are considered among the most family-oriented ethnic groups in the United States. Richard Griswold del Castillo has written the first important historical examination of the Mexican-American family. Aware of much popular mythology and stereotyping, Griswold del Castillo's objective is to demystify the Mexican-American family. "In the popular mind," he writes, "the Mexican family in the United States is a constitution of paradoxes: it is warm, supportive, and well ordered while also being authoritarian, dysfunctional, and essentially un-American" (p. 3).

Expanding from his fine book on the early Mexican-American community in Los Angeles in the post-Mexican War period, Griswold del Castillo examines the role of the family in the *barrios* of Los Angeles, Tucson, Santa Fe, and San Antonio between 1850 and 1900. His comparative urban and regional approach is innovative and broadens the scope of recent Chicano urban history, which has been tied to the study of single cities. Griswold del Castillo's research concerns the effects of the U.S. conquest of the Southwest on the Mexican-American family. Probing such variables as patriarchy, kinship, intermarriage, childrearing, and sexual attitudes, he concludes that the family changed but not necessarily in a dramatic fashion. Although conceding that incorporation into the United States produced a tension between earlier family patterns and new economic conditions that affected family life, Griswold del Castillo correctly notes that family cultural traditions that had evolved in some cases

over several centuries continued to survive and coexist under U.S. rule and Anglo-Saxon cultural influences. Griswold del Castillo perhaps over-stresses conflicts in this relationship, since accommodation rather than sharp cultural clash apparently characterized this tension. Still, he advances what other historians of Chicanos are also discovering: the dynamic historical interplay between what can be considered Mexican-American culture (a diverse and heterogeneous composite) and Americanization. Rather than being static, Mexican-American culture, including the family, has consistently evolved and changed.

Griswold del Castillo's sensitivity to Mexican-American cultural change and the varied character of that culture produces an analysis that, though dialectical, is not mechanical in its conclusions. Hence, economic as well as cultural explanations can be used to determine family patterns. Increased economic pressures on Mexican Americans, for example, did not lead to greater numbers of extended families. Instead, most Mexican Americans lived in nuclear households, whereas extended families appear to have served more of a cultural and social purpose than an economic one. By applying a pluralistic analysis, Griswold del Castillo helps bridge the sociological debate between those, on the one hand, who argue for a strictly material explanation of Chicano culture and those, on the other, who maintain that cultural tradition superseded material needs in the evolution of the Chicano family.

Although Griswold del Castillo's study advances the debate on the nature and character of the Mexican-American family, it also possesses some frustrating limitations. Its modest length only whets one's thirst for a lengthier and more detailed history of the Mexican-American family. In addition, Griswold del Castillo's thesis of the tension between family patterns and new economic conditions is not well developed in each chapter. Although it provides two chapters on the twentieth century, the study focuses on the nineteenth century; fuller coverage of the succeeding century would have added greatly. Yet, despite these limitations, this book remains an important addition to the growing and diverse historical literature on Mexican Americans.

MARIO T. GARCIA  
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NEWELL G. BRINGHURST. *Brigham Young and the Expanding American Frontier*. (The Library of American Biography.) Boston: Little, Brown. 1986. Pp. xv, 246. \$16.95.

To the general public Brigham Young is perhaps best known as the Mormon with the many wives. Yet, in the opinion of Newell G. Bringhurst, Young's major claim to fame is that he was "one of the greatest colonizers in American history" (p. 218)—a claim Bringhurst backs up with convincing evidence in this brief but well-researched and balanced "biographical portrait" that identifies Young as a leading protagonist on "the expanding American frontier." By enlarging on the current textbook interpretation, which places Young in the mainstream of the western movement, Bringhurst provides a useful service, especially for undergraduates and general readers who may lack the time and energy to tackle Leonard Arrington's monumental scholarly biography (*Brigham Young: American Moses* [1985]).

Shortly before his death Young confided to one of his daughters: "but for Mormonism I would have [remained] a common carpenter in a country village." Yet, as Bringhurst points out, Young also gave "the Mormon movement a great deal in return" (p. 218). After joining the new religion of Joseph Smith in 1832, Young devoted his early years in the church to missionary service; at the same time he rose rapidly in the hierarchy as a staunch and loyal follower of Smith. When Smith was assassinated in 1844, Young was able to assert himself as successor in the eyes of the majority of Mormons. Yet Bringhurst's opinion that "in assuming leadership during the critical period following Joseph Smith's death, Brigham Young helped save Mormonism, enabling it to become, in time, the largest indigenous religion in America" (p. 218) is tinged with presentism and needs qualification. Certainly, Brigham Young, more than anyone else, put his stamp on Utah Mormonism, the dominant variant of several Mormon churches, sects, and movements that trace their origins back to Joseph Smith. Without Young, however, might not Mormonism have survived in a different form?

On the whole, Bringhurst's judgments and opinions are sure-footed and convincing. He effectively portrays Young as a devoutly religious person who unshakably believed in the tenets of Mormonism, yet who was anything but a religious fanatic. As a shrewd and practical Yankee, Young valued hard work and strove for self-improvement, virtues he instilled with some success in his followers, most of whom appear to have not only respected him but loved him as "Brother Brigham." By choosing to emphasize the essential Americanness of Young and the Mormonism he shaped, Bringhurst follows an established and respectable scholarly tradition of frontier history. Yet Young has also been viewed as idiosyncratic and not typically American, if not to say "un-American." Although such a short volume is not the place for extensive scholarly debate,

Bringhurst could have provided a valuable service to students by making clear that his interpretation is not a "given." I regard Bringhurst's work, however, as nothing less than an excellent introduction to Brigham Young and his brand of Mormonism.

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MICHAEL C. COLEMAN. *Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes Toward American Indians, 1837-1893*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1985. Pp. x. 222. \$25.00.

Michael C. Coleman has written a forthright and precise study. As he explains, it "is more concerned with missionary rhetoric than with the way missions really operated" (p. 5). Nonetheless, such a tightly focused methodology supports an impressive attempt to interpret the attitudes that supported the cultural imperialism of the nineteenth-century missionary enterprise. Coleman examines most closely the correspondence from a sample of thirty-two missionaries whose efforts extended to nine of the nineteen Indian tribes served by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Old School. Coleman pays special attention to the letters from missionaries who served two very different tribes, the Choctaws and the Nez Percés. Throughout this selected correspondence the Presbyterians revealed a rigid ethnocentrism that devoutly advocated the abolition of the native way of life.

The book's first four chapters introduce the Presbyterian Church, its Board of Foreign Missions, the corps of missionaries, their theological heritage, and the Presbyterians' perception of the Indians, especially that of the "civilized" Choctaws and of the "savage" Nez Percés. The intellectual and scholarly payoff comes in the last half of the book—the final four chapters. Here Coleman looks closely at ethnocentrism. He finds that thirty-one of his thirty-two missionaries had grown up in rural areas or small towns, which "intensified their conviction that agriculture was a way of life especially pleasing to God" (p. 100). Since conversion of the natives had economic, as well as theological dimensions, the establishment of farming and a sedentary life remained entwined with the grand concept of Christianization.

Ethnocentrism also produced a "clashing double image" that denounced Indian tribalism as tyrannical and yet presented individual Indians as living in unrestrained self-indulgence. Although he does not make an explicit connection, this contradictory "double image" seems part of the missionaries' limited view of culture. As he explains in his final chapter, these nineteenth-century Presbyterians

"rarely spoke of culture at all" (p. 171) and certainly did not view culture in pluralistic, anthropological terms. Indeed, missionaries assumed "a nut-and-shell separability" (p. 174) of individuals from their cultural environment. Such presumed separability supported the ideology of Christian conversion and seems parallel to the "double image" of tyrannical tribalism and self-indulgent individualism. By recognizing individualism, the missionaries remained ethnocentric but did not accept the new idea, for the nineteenth century, of scientific racism. As in his important article of 1980 in the *Journal of American History*, Coleman stresses that "the intellectual rigidity of the Old School Presbyterians made them less receptive to any new ideas, not only theological but racial, as well" (p. 162).

Coleman confesses that he has studied the attitudes of one "regiment" in one army during the great century of Protestant missions. Nonetheless, his book allows us better to understand the weapons used in this long war of cultural imperialism. His thoughtful efforts will prepare scholars who wish to examine both sides of this confrontation and its results.

CLYDE A. MILNER II  
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JAMES MELVIN WASHINGTON. *Frustrated Fellowship: The Black Baptist Quest for Social Power*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press. 1986. Pp. xvii, 226.

The neglected black Baptists have comprised two-thirds of the membership of all Afro-American churches, and yet historians have written on small sects (such as the Black Muslims) or the centralized and easily tracked Methodists but ignored the denominational mainstream. Now James Melvin Washington offers not a history of these Baptist congregations but a study of efforts to unite them into a single black national organization. The unifying theme of the Baptist quest, Washington argues, was freedom, the struggle for power—"social power"—culminating in the creation of the National Baptist Convention (NBC) in 1895.

The story begins with slave conversions and spiritual renewal in the white Baptist revivals in the 1770s and continues with the quest for religious freedom in both the southern underground church and the northern antislavery associations. The major part of Washington's story focuses on the generation after the Civil War, when early interracial cooperation among Baptists and natural divisions among blacks (northern educated ministers versus unlettered popular preachers) gave way to a general black resentment of the white refusal to treat black pastors as equals. Blacks grew more sensitive to white Baptist arrogance—refusal to share power

and space on boards of directors and in Sunday school publications—during the redneck resurgence of the late 1880s that followed the civil rights movement of Reconstruction. Black Baptists then responded to the separatist argument that God wanted to redeem blacks through a separate convention and publication board.

Black Baptists united in 1895, agreeing that white monetary assistance was less important than a separate press and convention to develop racial pride and employment. Blacks needed to assume leadership of missions to Africa and send a message of psychic, material, and spiritual deliverance to American blacks. To be sure, the new national body never lived up to its potential of becoming an effective social and political force. The NBC remained a frustrated fellowship whose unfocused collective power has been one of the great tragedies of Afro-American religious history, but Washington promises a second volume to pronounce judgment on conservative NBC president J. H. Jackson for refusing to support Martin Luther King's civil rights leadership.

This book offers help for historians, a scaffolding for inserting a lecture on the Baptist church in their black history survey. We are given a well-argued and documented thesis that black Baptists, as well as Booker T. Washington, embraced separatism in 1895 in hopes of gaining freedom. Such a grand thesis for decentralized Baptists is certain to produce debate, but the author's ideas will surely become established wisdom, and such minor slips of fact as the following should not detract from its value: Lewis Douglass was the son of Frederick Douglass, not his brother (p. 120), and NBC president E. C. Morris served as pastor at Helena, not Pine Bluff, Arkansas (p. 191).

DAVID M. TUCKER  
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RUSSELL E. MILLER. *The Larger Hope: The Second Century of the Universalist Church in America, 1870–1970*. Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association. 1985. Pp. xiv, 766.

Members of the Universalist Church, as it entered its last century of denominational independence in the 1860s, could afford to be optimistic about the growth of their faith. They were riding a wave of theological liberalism that they believed would sweep away the last Calvinist traces from American Protestantism, and their distinctive doctrine of ultimate salvation for every soul seemed well in accord with American confidence in individual worth, with the idea of progress, and even with the new evolutionary philosophy. If their denial of eternal punishment made conversion theologically a less urgent

concern, their inclusive spirit provided a compensatory motive for missionary work and, they believed, a more sympathetic appeal than that of less tolerant churches.

Yet, as Russell E. Miller shows in this second volume of his history of the Universalists, the denomination steadily lost ground. Claiming the sixth largest membership among American Protestant churches in 1870, it could muster fewer than forty thousand for its merger with the Unitarians in 1961. Although they cast their nets throughout the United States, and abroad as far as Albania and Japan, Universalists were never quite to outgrow their reputation as a marginal New England sect. Excluded by the YMCA in the 1870s and the Federal Council of Churches in the 1940s, "God's Stepchildren" seemed too tenuously connected to Christian tradition even for tradition-disdaining Americans. Perhaps too, as Miller suggests, other churches implicitly deemphasized hell sufficiently to undercut the special attraction of Universalism on that issue.

Miller provides a densely internal narrative of Universalist vicissitudes and achievements and places them in only the sparest context of general religious history. He broadly relates denominational developments to the Social Gospel and the ecumenical movement but does not, for example, inquire as to what fundamentalism or neo-orthodoxy might have meant for the Universalist appeal.

The author's interesting account of the long courtship between the Universalists and Unitarians, complicated in the 1920s by a brief Universalist flirtation with the Congregationalists, escapes any such stricture, however. The partners in the eventual merger, although they shared a liberal theology, distrust of creed, and emphasis on social service, long remained divided by vestiges of class and educational differences. Unitarians tended to rationalism, moreover, whereas many Universalists continued to regard themselves as Bible Christians. The marriage of "head and heart," as some conceived it, was accordingly both intriguing and difficult, but the final formation of the Unitarian Universalist Association completed a gradual convergence.

This book is an impressive scholarly achievement, not of interpretation or in exploring the "larger questions" of religious history but for thoroughness of research and the careful ordering of information. The result is a coherent, trustworthy account of a small but significant religious body.

MICHAEL D. CLARK  
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JOHN W. STOREY. *Texas Baptist Leadership and Social Christianity, 1900–1980*. (Texas A&M Southwestern

Studies, number 5.) College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1986. Pp. xiv, 236. \$22.50.

Here is a helpful addition to the recently growing body of literature examining social Christianity in the South. John W. Storey rightly favors the broader term "social Christianity" to the more historically precise and restricted term "Social Gospel." Although the author must strain a bit to provide content for his tale, he writes with admirable objectivity; indeed, considering that he is a Southern Baptist and that theological and political controversies engulf his denomination today, his occasional critical comments manifest considerable moral courage. The research is creditable, save that a mere three oral interviews (as distinct from transcriptions of oral memoirs) scarcely impress. Errors are virtually nonexistent. The notes are where they belong, at the bottom of the page. The prose is clear and correct and, happily, free of jargon, though not, perhaps, that of a master stylist.

Storey's central theme is that social Christianity existed among Texas Baptists to an extent unacknowledged by earlier historians. Is he convincing? No and yes. In chapter 1, which covers the period from 1900 to 1919, he correctly argues that the prohibition movement was an integral and legitimate element of social Christianity. But if the discussion of prohibition were extracted from the chapter not much else would remain. As he acknowledges, support for social Christianity ebbed after the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment. Chapter 2, on the 1920s, is devoted almost exclusively to the troubles stirred up by J. Frank Norris. The prophetic gospel was a victim of this divisive and draining internal war, and in any case "Texas churchmen essentially were at ease with cultural values of the 1920s" (p. 69). Chapter 3 combines the impact of the Great Depression and World War II, unfortunately, for, although Storey documents that the depression heightened social consciousness, he is forced to conclude the chapter with the lame admission that the war banked the prophetic fires. So much for the "no" judgment. The "yes" judgment is largely based on the record for the years 1950 to 1980: the formation of the Christian Life Commission; the courageous yet shrewd leadership of such men as Thomas B. Maston, James Dunn, Foy Valentine, Jimmy Allen, and numerous Baptist women as well; the honest facing of the issues of race, war, poverty, plutocracy, and politics. Considering the unflinching and broad coverage devoted to white Texas Baptists and black Americans, Storey's virtual silence on Texans of Mexican descent is a real disappointment—the one major failure of the book.

I rate this study fairly highly for its research, writing style, interpretation, and significance and

am even more impressed by the author's courage and Christian concern.

ROBERT MOATS MILLER  
*University of North Carolina*

DAVID D. VAN TASSEL and JOHN J. GRABOWSKI, editors.  
*Cleveland: A Tradition of Reform*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1986. Pp. viii, 218. \$27.50.

While working on an encyclopedia of Cleveland's history, David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski noticed the persistence and the conservatism of reform in their city. So they and seven other scholars examined antebellum benevolence (Michael J. McTighe), Progressive social reform (Grabowski), temperance and prohibition (Marian J. Morton), the women's movement (Lois Scharf), abolition and antislavery (Bertram Wyatt-Brown), black civil rights (Christopher Wye), public education (Edward M. Giggins), and political reform (James F. Richardson). The variety of movements and long time span distinguish the present book from Brenda K. Shelton's work on Buffalo reformers in the 1890s, Kathleen D. McCarthy's book on charity and cultural philanthropy in Chicago, and Nathan I. Huggins's study of Protestant charities in Boston.

As Cleveland grew from canal town to industrial metropolis, it experienced drastic changes in population. Irish and Germans diluted the New Englanders before all of them were swamped by "new" immigrants. The black community soared from thirty-five thousand in 1920 to two hundred fifty-one thousand by 1960. In spite of these changes, the reform movements (except black civil rights) remained closely tied to Anglo-Saxon "business, legal, and financial leaders of the city, their spouses, and, very often, their clergy" (p. 5). From the 1830s to the 1960s these people consistently eschewed radical solutions and opted for orderly compromise.

White reformers preferred colonization and then "cautious and benign" (p. 107) antislavery activity to abolitionism, even though bolder ideas flourished nearby in the small towns of Hudson and Oberlin. The American Woman Suffrage Association held its founding convention in Cleveland in 1869 as did the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in 1871, yet the suffrage association gained "only a modicum of local support" (p. 71), and Cleveland joined the minority nonpartisan faction of the WCTU. Feminism took a back seat to social-welfare activities, despite role models such as Rebecca Rouse, Flora Stone Mather, and Florence Allen. Reformers patronized private schools while building a public system to educate other people's children in moral character, the three R's, and, with the opening of Technical High School in 1908, manual and domestic arts. Political reformers strove for effi-



ciency with mayors Tom L. Johnson and Newton D. Baker in the Progressive era and with city managers in the 1920s. Thereafter the reformers worked for metropolitan government, in part because so many of them were living in the suburbs. Urban black and ethnic politicians frustrated their plans.

Members of Cleveland's black community advocated integration, but the local NAACP and Urban League chose "avoidance of confrontation and controversy in favor of cooperation and persuasion" (p. 122). The black influx in the 1940s forced the Cleveland Welfare Federation to conduct its first comprehensive study of the ghetto and prompted politicians to pass a municipal civil rights act in 1946 and the country's first fair employment practices law. That legislation did not forestall black protests against discrimination in schools, housing, and employment or prevent the riots of 1966 and 1968, conflagrations that, ironically, framed the election of black mayor Carl Stokes, another Cleveland first.

This book fully sustains the editors' thesis. Contributors make excellent use of manuscript materials and generally strike a good balance between local and national developments and between individual reformers and organizational history. Readers will be grateful for this survey. They will, however, have unanswered questions about modern Cleveland. The epilogue laments the uncharacteristic violence and embarrassing descent from Tom Johnson to Dennis Kucinich but assures readers that "plans and programs for the city's future" still emanate "largely from a corps of old family and business elite" (p. 176). The preeminence of the elite may be part of the problem, for, as Scharf observes, "race and class provided distinct barriers" to participation in Cleveland-style reform (p. 82).

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HARVEY GREEN. *Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society*. New York: Pantheon. 1986. Pp. xvi, 367. \$24.95.

Electrochemical baths for those with nervous diseases in the 1850s, systems of calisthenic exercises for the family of the 1860s, the ultrathorough mastication or "fletcherizing" of food advocated in the early twentieth century—all these have been part of Americans' efforts to improve their physical state and are now of interest to historians. James C. Whorton provided an admirable history of ideas in *Crusaders for Fitness: The History of American Health Reformers* (1982). Harvey Green's sprightly synthesis combines a depiction of the major trends in health-reform thinking with a description of practices, gadgets, and institutions proffered to an eager public.

Green, whose account runs to 1940, identifies a number of common concerns throughout a one-hundred-year period. From early in the nineteenth century Americans feared their moral declension as a people, marked by their departure from nature's guide for healthy behavior, to which they soon added unease with increased material prosperity and with lack of physical labor. Presumably, the right diet or dress or exercise could bring back the good health that would indicate individual and social harmony.

Green sees three distinct periods of middle-class concern with the workings of the body, each with slightly different assumptions and methods of coping. In the thirty years previous to the Civil War, a millennial spirit of religious enthusiasm implied the potential for physical as well as spiritual perfectibility. The less optimistic post-Civil War movement was fueled by concern over the nervousness, chronic indigestion, and consumption experienced by the growing number of urban middle-class people in sedentary occupations. The third fitness movement, dating from 1890, Green attributes to anxiety produced by economic depression, labor unrest, and fears of race suicide. The vegetarianism, water cures, and tentative organized exercises of the first movement gave way to improvements in home ventilation and sanitation, to vacations at warm springs and mineral water spas, to temperance, sophisticated electrotherapy, and a profusion of exercises. In the third movement the emphasis increasingly was on competitive sports for men and new games and the bicycle for all.

Green has used a multiplicity of sources ranging from the predictable advice manuals, to private letters and diaries specifying remedies attempted, to collections of relevant material artifacts. The result is a nice balance of detail and analysis.

His diverse sources, however, seem to have been used more for illustrating already accepted analyses of the origin and meaning of the fitness movements than for challenging or refining those interpretations. He has not mined his own materials or the offerings of recent social historians as much as he might have and has thus left suggestive data unexplored. From the vast array of goods that individuals bought to ensure or improve their health, much might be said about Americans' tendency to settle for symbolic resolution of their problems, rendering government and populace alike ever vulnerable to new panaceas and gadgets. Much more could be said about the impact of women, in their roles as both consumers and purveyors, on the nature of health reform movements. Green has shown that ambivalence about change in American life finds expression in part through the body. How does health reform compare to other individual re-

sponses as a means of coping with transformations that otherwise seem beyond the individual's control?

ANITA CLAIR FELLMAN  
Simon Fraser University

JOSEPH C. PORTER. *Paper Medicine Man: John Gregory Bourke and His American West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1986. Pp. xviii, 362. \$29.95.

Most historians of the Far West regard John G. Bourke as a talented soldier and writer who chronicled the exploits of Brigadier General George Crook during the Indian wars of the late nineteenth century. With literary skills that equalled a novelist's, Bourke penned an epic account of the Apache campaigns, *On the Border with Crook* (1891), which has become a regional classic. But this image of Bourke as little more than Crook's Boswell is far removed from reality. As Joseph C. Porter demonstrates in this beautifully crafted biography, Bourke was one of the foremost ethnologists of his day, and his historical significance may well be greater than that of his favorite commander.

Bourke was an unlikely candidate to become one of America's pioneering anthropologists. Born in 1846 into an Irish immigrant family, Bourke served in the ranks during the Civil War and later attended West Point. After graduation he was posted to the Far West. At first his attitude toward Indians differed little from the prejudices entertained by most Americans. The tribes needed a heavy hand to speed the civilizing process, Bourke believed, and he saw the military as providing a necessary chastisement to modify undesirable behavior. But Bourke did not hold these views for long; unlike most residents of the frontier, the young officer was a serious scholar—possibly a quality acquired in his father's bookstore. Armed with intellectual curiosity, Bourke began a diligent study of the American Indian, and in time he found that his preconceived notions did not coincide with direct observation. The Indians, Bourke discovered, had complex cultures and possessed many admirable traits. By the mid-1870s he had commenced serious ethnographic work, albeit under military aegis. Within little more than a decade, he became a prominent figure in the movement for Indian rights, even though these efforts damaged his chances for promotion. He died somewhat disillusioned in 1896 at the age of forty-nine, without seeing his friend and admirer, Theodore Roosevelt, become president.

This gracefully written and well-researched study is the first full-length biography of Bourke. The author was aided in his investigation by the diary Bourke kept on a regular basis throughout his long years of frontier service. A little more information about Bourke's family and his financial status would

have been useful, but this does not detract from the overall work. Porter is at his best when discussing Bourke's theories of civilization, derived from Lewis Henry Morgan, which posited that human nature was constant throughout time. The observation of primitive people, Morgan argued, gave careful viewers a window into their own civilizations at an earlier stage of development. In the twentieth century much of this grand civilization theory has been discarded, but it has not lessened the value of Bourke's observations, many of which are unique.

Even Bourke's Indian informants sometimes realized the importance of his notebook entries. At the Sun Dance of 1881 Oglala Chief Red Dog said to Bourke: "Our grandfathers taught us to do this. Write it down straight on the paper" (p. 94). American ethnology is indebted to the talented Irishman who did not allow personal prejudices to prevent his detailing such ceremonies as the Sioux Sun Dance or the Zuni Urine Dance.

This is the biography that John G. Bourke has long deserved. With this book Bourke has emerged from the shadow of George Crook, and author Porter has earned our praises. Like Bourke himself, he got it straight on the paper.

GERALD THOMPSON  
University of Toledo

CRAIG MINER. *West of Wichita: Settling the High Plains of Kansas, 1865–1890*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1986. Pp. viii, 303. \$19.95.

This book is regional history at its best. Taking a limited area (Kansas west of the sixth principal meridian) during a limited time period (the end of the Civil War to 1890) Craig Miner has fused personal narrative sources with quantitative data to demonstrate the unique challenge of western Kansas "in nineteenth-century agriculture civilization" (p. 4). Many of the traditional tales of early hardships—grasshopper plagues, Indian attacks, the stress of loneliness and isolation, drought, blizzards, prairie fires, and the unaccustomed hazards of nature—are retold with vigor and a sense of immediacy. These gritty tales of pioneer persistence and stubbornness are used to illustrate the region's cyclical history of hope and despair fed by "the famous variability of the Great Plains" (p. 232). This variability, one might add, is largely responsible for the love-hate ambivalence that characterized Kansans' attitude toward the state. Miner has bolstered the personal accounts with new quantification of such wide-ranging materials as price data, average annual rainfall, railroad expansion, boom-and-bust land transactions, and individual, corporate, and relief contributions. The blending of these two research techniques makes for an entertaining and

convincing study of the early development on the Kansas plains.

Miner's use of this approach to provide excellent, chapter-length coverages of topics is one of the pleasant rewards of the book. Among the chapters three or four stand out. The brief description of the impact of the violent raid through Kansas by Dull Knife's Northern Cheyenne places in clear perspective the settlers' shift from lukewarm sympathy for the Indian's plight to red-hot condemnation and demand for vengeance. The author discusses "the red-haired men in silk ties," the exuberant land agents who helped fuel the land boom of the mid-1880s, and concludes that the "boys who talked about towns in their heads were clever: men who accepted similar visions were dangerously gullible" (p. 215). He traces the history of the coming of the railroad and its effect on the raw settlements as well as the later "gaudy atmosphere of high boom" of 1886-87 (p. 202). Further, Miner provides insights into the early irrigation projects, which more than any other response to the drought of 1880 were "a central element of the regional boom" (p. 184) and which sparked the "sorghum sugar craze."

Miner makes clear that the illusions the pioneers brought with them made settlement in the region a highly risky venture. Technological masking, for instance, has remained an important intermediary influence on perceptions of western Kansas up to the present. In the concluding chapter Miner warns that the victory of people over nature, which seemed a safe goal as late as the 1950s, has not yet been assured.

Not the least of Miner's talents is his engaging style—no turgid prose here. Images are alive, progression of the story lively, and the analysis convincing.

This first-rate book is an important addition to the history of Kansas and, more broadly, to the study of western settlement.

C. ROBERT HAYWOOD  
Washburn University

PHILIP V. SCARPINO. *Great River: An Environmental History of the Upper Mississippi, 1890-1950*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1985. Pp. viii, 219. \$24.00.

In this relatively brief work Philip V. Scarpino has assigned himself the duty of interpreting the human impact on the ecosystem of the upper Mississippi River, one of the greatest waterways in the world. For that reason the book offers promise of synthesizing the many disparate forces that operate in the basin of the "Father of Waters." Unfortunately, because the author addresses too many issues in too

little space to do them justice, the study lacks cohesion, focus, and depth.

One recognizes that many more questions surfaced in the course of the research than the author at first imagined. This may explain why the book hurriedly describes the building of Keokuk Falls hydroelectric project, the changing nature of the river on being dammed, the exploitation of mussel beds for pearl-button manufacture, the formation of a wildlife refuge prompted by pressure from the Izaak Walton League, and the pollution above St. Louis caused by urbanization after the turn of the century. The only correlation between these subjects is their geographic location, and little is done to reveal the integration of the parts to the whole.

Another explanation for the book's lack of continuity is Scarpino's heavy reliance on printed sources and secondary works. This not only restricts analysis to the concepts chosen by their authors but also ignores the broader significance of such factors as bureaucratic infighting, political machinations, and lack of public concern for environmental damage in exchange for economic security. Scarpino discourses at length on the dynamics of such matters in other parts of America but has not delved deeply enough in the sources for his region to show whether the upper Mississippi valley paralleled or deviated from these trends. Scarpino could have gone beyond the *Congressional Record* and documents from the House and Senate by more closely consulting the archives of the Army Corps of Engineers, the various state offices of natural resources and engineering, and the personal correspondence of civic and political leaders eager to promote basin-wide development and economic self-interest.

The book demonstrates both the potential and perils awaiting those who seek the meaning of the Mississippi's existence. Scarpino offers insight into several little-studied corners of twentieth-century American history, especially the struggle to maintain the virtues of Progressive era conservation in the consumer-oriented 1920s. Perhaps the direction toward which he points will become more clear as scholars of environmental history look more deeply into the souls of the "enemy" (the attitudes of modern America) and recognize that perhaps the way we live shapes our uses (and abuses) of resources such as the "Great River."

MICHAEL WELSH  
University of New Mexico

DAVID M. GORDON *et al.* *Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the United States*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1982. Pp. xii, 288. Cloth \$34.50, paper \$9.95.

The authors of this book have attempted to provide a new theoretical explanation for the historical weakness of the American labor movement. They use a sophisticated version of Marxism to answer Werner Sombart's famous question, "Why is there no socialism in the United States?" David M. Gordon, Richard Edwards, and Michael Reich integrate economic theory with wide reading in labor history, especially the literature of the past two decades on the subject, to build "an alternative working hypothesis" that explains internal divisions within the working class: "The disunity of the U.S. working class persists in large part as a result of objective divisions among workers in their production experiences; these objective divisions constitute both a consequence of continuing capitalist development in the United States and a barrier to a unified anticapitalist working-class movement" (p. 8).

Two primary strands of economic analysis form the foundation for the authors' interpretation. Both derive from a Marxian perspective on the past, by which the internal contradictions of capitalism express themselves most clearly in long waves of economic expansion and contraction frequently described as "Kondratieff cycles." The authors thus closely link the ebbs and flows in the power of American labor to long-wave cycles in economic expansion and contraction and to a series of crises in the history of American capitalism.

Although the content of this book is familiar in its broad outline and specific details, Gordon *et al.* have provided a useful division of the history of American workers into three broad periods: the era of initial proletarianization (the 1820s to the 1890s), the era of homogenization (the 1870s to World War II), and the era of segmentation (the 1920s to the present). In each era capitalism reaches the limits of its existing structure; as labor productivity declines, employers are unable to discipline their workers, and crisis permeates the economy. The internal contradictions of capitalism cause employers to search for new methods of labor discipline during the period of crisis (the contraction wave of the Kondratieff cycle), which reaches its fruition during the next wave of economic expansion. The authors, however, add a new wrinkle to this otherwise classic Marxian version of capitalist crises and their resolution. They suggest that the most important factors in the resolution of crises occur outside the economy in the "social structure of accumulation," which resembles what Marxists have ordinarily referred to as the "superstructure": politics, law, culture, and ideology. Unfortunately, the book adds little to the literature about American politics, state policy, and law. And, frankly, the authors' theory seems to accord best with the period they define as that of "initial proletarianization." Although the crisis of the late nineteenth century produced fundamental

changes in the structure of production, the organization of work, and the recruitment of labor, these changes probably did not "homogenize" American labor. A more convincing hypothesis might assert that, since the era of "initial proletarianization," American labor has grown increasingly segmented at work and at home under different "economic and social structures of accumulation."

Whatever the weaknesses of this book, the authors have provided a genuine service to their readers. They have enabled historians who are untutored in or uncomfortable with contemporary Marxist economic theory to use the insights generated by that theory to reinterpret and better understand American labor history. They have also made more accessible theory that a school of contemporary French economic historians, most notably Robert Boyer and Michel Aglietta, has elaborated to explain the history of workers under modern capitalism. That theory links a "regime of accumulation" (the authors' economic system) to a "mode of regulation" (the authors' "social structure of accumulation") in a complex manner filled with equations and dense prose unfamiliar to those not trained in economics. This book, then, should be a wonderful gift to historians of American labor who want to familiarize themselves with contemporary Marxist economic theory and history.

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SUSAN R. STEIN, editor. *The Architecture of Richard Morris Hunt*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986. Pp. xiv, 192. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

Richard Morris Hunt (1827–95) was surely, as Paul R. Baker, his biographer, claims, "the most influential figure in the development of architectural professionalism in the United States in the nineteenth century" (p. 10). The first American to study architecture at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, Hunt introduced the styles and methods of the school's rigorous system to the United States. He was the first to design apartment buildings and among the first to experiment with skyscrapers. His emphasis on artistic collaboration, and particularly on relating sculpture to architecture in public monuments, as Lewis I. Sharp indicates, prefigured the City Beautiful movement. Hunt's reputation has suffered, however, because of his association with millionaire patrons whose lavish great houses defined the conspicuous consumption of America's Gilded Age, and because his Beaux-Arts classicism seemed alien to the traditional American taste for a functional, moral, "democratic" architecture. Even in his own day, as David Chase points out, Hunt's townhouses

were condemned as "socially inappropriate" and a Senate Committee on Education and Labor was moved "to consider legislation that would limit the amount a millionaire could spend on his house" (p. 167).

This collection of highly technical but suggestive essays reassesses Hunt's achievement. Basing their studies on the extensive collection of books, drawings, sketches, and photographs presented to the American Institute of Architects in 1926 by Hunt's sons, the nine contributors to this volume have been able to closely examine, compare, and trace the progress of Hunt's various projects and, in developing their understanding of Hunt's working methods, reestablish his originality and inventiveness as an American architect.

Sarah Bradford Landau, for instance, points out the innovative qualities of Hunt's early work—his European-inspired "stick-style" villas, city houses, apartment houses, and commercial buildings—that influenced "a more sophisticated American architecture" (p. 72). In his study of the Lenox Library (1870–75), widely held to be Hunt's "finest and most purely French-inspired design" (p. 68), David Van Zanten concludes that its similarities to French prototypes are superficial, that Hunt evolved his design independently, and that the tendency of American architects to work out their ideas in "actual construction," rather than theoretically from "intimate study" of historical building methods, accounts for its "profoundly American language" (pp. 94, 105).

Van Zanten suggests that a better understanding of Hunt's achievement will result from study of the architect's French education and work experiences, the organization of his office, and the effect of living and working "amid the tumultuous construction projects of New York in 1870" (p. 105). These essays partially achieve this understanding. Richard Chafee's detailed account of Hunt's studies at the *ecole* illuminates his working methods and explains the sources of his taste. Susan R. Stein's brief description of Hunt's office and students and her examination of Hunt's drawings suggest how one might differentiate between Hunt's work and that of his draftsmen or students. Since drawings for the country estates, with which Hunt's reputation is so closely associated, are missing from the Hunt archive, Stein believes that his son Richard Howland Hunt may have been responsible for the "great house." Interpreting the absence of drawings for the important residential commissions of 1878 to 1895 differently, David Chase finds indication of Hunt's participation in their design in the improved quality of the buildings—their "harmony, authority, legitimacy, and grandeur" (p. 165).

Two of Hunt's projects are significant in their revelation of American cultural attitudes and tastes: his unsuccessful designs of 1860 for the gateways to

Central Park and his last and most famous public building, the entrance wing of the Metropolitan Museum. Francis R. Kowsky blames Hunt's failure to obtain the commission for the gateways on the conflict between his designs and Frederick Law Olmsted's and Calvert Vaux's plans for Central Park. Hunt's recourse to the grand tradition of French civic planning ignored American commitment to the idea of the park as regenerative nature and evoked associations with Napoleon III's despotic monarchy. Ironically, when Hunt died, the Architectural League of New York recommended the erection of the park gates according to his rejected plan as a memorial to him. By 1895 an "architecture of grandeur" was considered suitable as an expression of "New World wealth and power" (p. 88).

The Metropolitan Museum entrance wing (1895–1902) marked the triumph of Hunt's influence on American taste and, according to Morrison H. Heckscher, "the ultimate triumph of French classicism, the acceptability of placing great museum buildings prominently in public parks, and the recognition . . . that such large and complex buildings should only be designed by architects of the highest standing" (p. 173). That Hunt remains an American architect of the highest standing this collection of essays leaves no doubt.

LILLIAN B. MILLER  
National Portrait Gallery  
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ROBERT TWOMBLY. *Louis Sullivan: His Life and Work*. (Elisabeth Sifton.) New York: Viking. 1986. Pp. x, 530. \$29.95.

That Louis Sullivan (1856–1924) is a superb subject for a psychobiography has long been obvious to historians of American architecture. Obviously, from a reading of *The Autobiography of An Idea* (1924), he hated his father and worshiped his mother. In 1960 Willard Connely pointed out that Sullivan had an older brother, Albert, who is nowhere mentioned in the autobiography. That book, in fact, stops at 1893, when Sullivan was at the peak of his fame. Sullivan's single attempt at marriage, a few years later, was a disaster, and the later years of his life were, as this biographer correctly remarks, a descent into hell. Truly, the material is extraordinarily suggestive.

Robert Twombly has carefully gone over the ascertainable facts of this extremely complex career and, insofar as is possible from materials that are admittedly insufficient, attempted to construct a psychological explanation for the failure of Sullivan as an artist and as a man. The effort is interesting



and partially successful. Twombly's research is exceedingly thorough, and he has cleared up a number of ambiguities in the Sullivan story. Some of this work is of substantial value: for instance, the excellent analysis of the extended family that Sullivan enjoyed during his childhood. His relationships in these early years go far to explain the overwhelming ambitions so characteristic of the man. Certain other suggestions seem tenuous. The argument that in his maturity Sullivan was a repressed homosexual is the kind of contention that is now commonplace with regard to many historical figures. Still, there may be an element of truth here. This contention would explain why George Elmslie, a faithful disciple, burned important letters; still, hard evidence for Twombly's theory is lacking.

Although the book will probably receive attention for its psychobiographical aspects, other features are at least as important. Twombly has understood the development of Sullivan's architectural theory and has ably related it to the executed buildings and projects. The writing is clear and forceful. The only major omission from the bibliography is Larry Milet's fine book on the Owatonna bank, *The Spring of the Arch* (1984), which Twombly may not have been able to see in press. This is not, however, the definitive biography of Louis Sullivan. Indeed, precisely because Sullivan himself was so secretive, that book may be an impossibility. Twombly has made a contribution to an understanding of Sullivan, but he remains an overwhelming and enigmatic figure in American architectural history.

LEONARD K. EATON  
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CHARLES STRICKLAND, *Victorian Domesticity: Families in the Life and Art of Louisa May Alcott*. Foreword by ROBERT COLES. University: University of Alabama Press. 1985. Pp. xv, 198. \$24.50.

Charles Strickland argues that Victorian domesticity was "a product of a confrontation between the ideals of sentimentality and the reality experienced by nineteenth century Americans" (p. 3). He notes that Louisa May Alcott's fictional families touch the hearts and minds of modern readers precisely because her life and art reflected that confrontation. Clearly written, emphasizing the "at odds" perspective between women's rights and family life in mid-nineteenth-century America, this book is also "at odds" with some current feminist perspectives linking women's fiction and "sentimental power"—a term coined by Jane Tompkins in her discussion of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Susan Warner, and others.

Strickland quite correctly sees considerable tension between the sentimental ideal of family life and Alcott's real family. He is at his best in discussing Bronson Alcott's life and work, Bronson's deification of family life, and his strange inability or unwillingness to support his family. Sympathetic to the Alcott women, Strickland locates their support of women's rights in the difficulties they encountered in trying to support themselves and Bronson. Publication of Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* finally solved the family's financial problems, but, Strickland argues, it also paradoxically reinforced the sentimental convention that social change proceeded from ideal family life. Strickland concludes that Alcott found more problems with "fashionable" families than she did with old-fashioned patriarchal arrangements or sentimental stereotypes. Her greatest contribution to American culture, Strickland argues, was her celebration of "the possibilities of companionate marriage, a genuine sharing of privileges and responsibilities between husbands and wives" (p. xiv). This sort of marriage, the only arrangement Strickland finds suitable to changing social conditions, in turn fostered a more androgynous, feminist ideal of true womanhood.

This slim volume deals with a wide range of Alcott's fiction: juvenile literature, tales of passion, and the "serious" novels Alcott herself valued most. Concentrating on the theme of domesticity in Alcott's life and art has the defect of its virtues. It reflects current literature on family life; it also, however, ignores the recent controversies over women's fiction and children's literature. Contrary to Strickland's emphasis on "sentimental" fiction as reactionary, recent literary and cultural historians, such as Tompkins, Nina Baym, Judith Fetterley, Elaine Showalter, and Elizabeth Keysar, have argued in behalf of "the other American Renaissance" and found "sentimental power" in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Wide, Wide World*. Their work certainly implies that the reform of family life and the expansion, even transcendence, of women's proper sphere was an important theme in women's fiction. Their readings of Louisa May Alcott are powerful revisions of American women's history and of Victorian legacies. Strickland's interesting book should be read with a "sentimental power" caveat.

SARAH ELBERT  
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CAROL FAIRBANKS, *Prairie Women: Images in American and Canadian Fiction*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1986. Pp. xi, 300. \$22.00.

To write this book, Carol Fairbanks read a century's worth of fictional works by American and Canadian

prairie female writers: 120 novels in all. Some works, such as those of Willa Cather, are famous; some are deservedly obscure. Fairbanks is to be commended for drawing this special literary sub-genre to our attention, but her methodology renders her study of little use to historians.

Like many other students of western women, Fairbanks begins by grappling with the consequences to women of the special mythic-heroic character of the American West. Here, the archetypal female stereotype is the powerful image of Beret Hansa in Ole Rølvaag's *Giants in the Earth*, who is driven mad by the endless prairie. Reacting against Beret's victimization, Fairbanks promises us the "revisioning of the lives of prairie women" and the opportunity of "entering new texts from a feminist critical perspective" (p. 2). This laudable goal is not achieved, precisely because a feminist critical perspective adequate to the range and variety of sources is not employed. Fairbanks rejects Annette Kolodny's sophisticated appreciation of the female imagination and the landscape (in *The Land Before Her* [1984]) and does not adopt any other comprehensive feminist approach to literary production. Instead, she uses a method advocated by anthropologist Clifford Geertz in which "structures of signification" are compared by piling up and then sorting out details. This approach does not work: the reader too easily gets lost in endless plot summaries and general points are overwhelmed by individual variation.

Fairbanks divides her fictional sources into broad categories: responses to the prairie landscape and the prairie town, women's responses to Indians, first- and second-wave women (the first largely Anglo-Saxon, the second largely European immigrants), and finally the "prairie born, prairie bred." She does not systematically use the categories with which historians are most comfortable: nationality, ethnicity, class, chronology, and age. Thus, in her final chapter Fairbanks argues for an "emotionally and spiritually" distinctive female response to the land that transcends historical categories. In her reading, the border between the United States and Canada disappears as do differences between ethnic groups or cohorts of settlement. I do not find this sweeping claim convincing. I believe it more accurately reflects the difficulty of shedding old ideas about the heroic West than it does female reality. Although I believe the recovery and understanding of the female experience of prairie settlement are valuable and important, I am not eager to see new female heroes take the place of the old male ones. Why is it so hard, west of the Mississippi, to be merely life-sized?

SUSAN ARMITAGE  
Washington State University

RUTH MILLER ELSON. *Myths and Mores in American Best Sellers, 1865-1965*. (Modern American History.) New York: Garland. 1985. Pp. 380. \$40.00.

Ruth Miller Elson's study surveys a century of best-selling books in America as a contribution to the contemporary historical effort at discovering "what ideas were held by ordinary people" (p. 1). Recognizing the manifold difficulties inherent in her project, Elson is cautious about claiming too much; she maintains not that best sellers inaugurated new ideas or values but rather that they reflected and reinforced them. She also does not claim much for these books as "literature" but finds in them, as she puts it, "a history of American clichés" (p. 14).

Clichés, indeed, are what Elson gives us. Her study moves through many of the principal subjects of American thought, from nature and gender roles to characteristics of race and nationality, from spiritual and artistic ideas to attitudes toward poverty and money. Throughout, she brings to bear relevant quotations from dozens of American books to demonstrate that cliché and stereotype are alive and well in the popular book. As a result, one finishes this study knowing no more than one originally brought to it.

Nevertheless, the project Elson took on is important; the influence of imaginative works mass-produced for a mass culture is a subject of profound significance, deserving of serious and sophisticated examination. This book falls short in the level of sophistication brought to it. As both the study of popular culture and the last twenty-odd years of literary theory have taught us, the "meaning" of a text is a good deal more elusive than what a handful of salient quotations and a rapid plot summary can provide. Moreover, this is just as true for a Horatio Alger novel as it is for complex and even experimental fiction.

Authors of best sellers are seldom more competent than the rest of society to analyze and resolve the contradictions in the values and beliefs of their culture. As a result, their books often founder on those contradictions, as a careful study of the elements of narrative in both the plot and the subtext reveal. The examination of best-selling and other popular books is richest and most valuable precisely in the discovery and analysis of the interstices in the otherwise whole fabric of a narrative.

In her concluding chapter Elson writes that "when one purchases a book for entertainment one also buys inadvertently a compendium of social values and conventions" (p. 309). But one often buys as well fantasy strategies for negotiating both the promises and threats of the society, for understanding one's place within it, and for allaying the uneasiness its contradictions arouse. For those reasons, a successful study of values hawked by American best

sellers will require the dual skills of historian and literary analyst.

JAN COHN  
George Mason University

JEAN PFAELZER. *The Utopian Novel in America, 1886–1896: The Politics of Form*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 211. \$21.95.

This thoughtful interdisciplinary literary history analyzes utopias not as constructions of social blueprints but as acts of rebellious subjectivity by authors who were deeply disconcerted by the profound social malaise of the American *fin de siècle*. Utopian novels offered “literary resolutions to . . . historical tensions” (p. 5).

Little is innovative in Jean Pfaelzer’s general approach, although she provides a clear and useful synthesis of the work of several earlier literary analysts of utopian fiction. She fails to cite or employ many American historical works written on the subject in the past decade. A more thorough and ambitious study of much of the same ground can be found in Howard P. Segal’s *Technological Utopianism in Industrializing America* (1985). Indeed, much of Pfaelzer’s book will be familiar to the specialist. By now the utopias of Edward Bellamy, William Dean Howells, and Ignatius Donnelly, the subjects of three of the seven chapters of this book, have been explored quite frequently and fully. Pfaelzer’s depiction of the broader historical settings of the 1890s will also be familiar to most American historians.

The book breaks new ground, however, on several topics. Pfaelzer makes a fascinating analysis of a series of negative utopias, most of which were anti-Bellamy. This chapter of her book broadens our awareness of the immense impact of *Looking Backward*, even among social reactionaries. Pfaelzer’s discussion of what she calls conservative utopias shows the chauvinistic and imperialistic uses to which the utopian genre could be turned. Perhaps most interesting of this ilk was the intergalactic industrial empire depicted in *A Journey in Other Worlds* (1894), created by the multimillionaire John Jacob Astor. Pfaelzer is at her strongest in analyzing the feminist and antifeminist aspects of this utopian fiction. Although Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s fantasy, *Herland* (1915), will be familiar to many readers, Pfaelzer gives interesting readings of two less-known works: William H. Bishop’s *The Garden of Eden, USA* (1895), and Mary E. Lane, *Mizora* (1889).

Bishop and Lane did not transcend the values of their society, even in their imaginings. Their concern with sexual purity and moral elevation and their ambivalence about using power kept their female characters out of the trenches of social and sexual conflict, even in utopia. But, in all utopias, the

authors wished to go beyond the confines of actual history. Given the clamor of the age, such wishes made a great deal of emotional sense, and Pfaelzer is usually, though not always, sympathetic to her subjects. Whether this kind of writing amounted to rebellion is a matter that Pfaelzer, quite appropriately, cannot resolve.

MICHAEL FELLMAN  
Simon Fraser University

HUGH G. J. AITKEN. *The Continuous Wave: Technology and American Radio, 1900–1932*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1985. Pp. xvii, 588. Cloth \$67.50, paper \$19.95.

Hugh G. J. Aitken’s book is a model of how the history of technology should be written; he asks the right questions of the right material and knows what the answers mean. Clearly a sequel to his book *Syntax and Spark: The Origins of Radio* (1976), it nevertheless stands alone, carrying the story from the early days of commercial radio to the full establishment of broadcasting.

The first section of the book tells the story of how radio technology switched from “spark” transmission (that is, intermittent waves carrying messages in Morse Code) to the use of continuous waves to carry music and the human voice. The basic story is well known, but Aitken captures its essence and meaning in what will stand as the classic understanding of this transformation. He also makes a major contribution to the methodology of the history of technology.

The transition from the narrative of the internal evolution of technical devices to the analysis of the causes and effects of technological changes has proven a slow and difficult process. The stultifying tradition of “hardware” history has been more easily overcome, however, than the whiggish temptation to see the history of technology as a succession of improvements with largely beneficial results. Borrowing suggestions from the work of Edward W. Constant, Jr. (*The Origins of the Turbojet Revolution* [1980]), Aitken demonstrates that the continuous wave appeared not because spark transmission had failed but because a handful of inventors and engineers saw the commercial potential of something that spark could never do—broadcast entertainment.

The second part of Aitken’s book chronicles the development of the large corporate aggregations that shaped and controlled this new technology. Here, he is equally innovative. Thinking of technology as knowledge organized in a certain way, Aitken next explores the institutions and rules created to manage the flow of that information in the field of radio—that is, those people, agencies, and procedures that brought together old and new informa-

tion from the same or overlapping domains of knowledge. The Radio Corporation of America (RCA), formed in 1919, was the grand example of such an agency, and, with its maturity, the field of broadcasting as we know it was firmly established. One could hardly find a better example of the ground on which science, technology, government, and business meet.

This book is a real achievement by one of the giants in the history of technology. It deserves a wide audience among those interested in modern America and the forces and agencies that do so much to shape its reality.

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PERI E. ARNOLD. *Making the Managerial Presidency: Comprehensive Reorganization Planning*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1986. Pp. xiv, 374. \$37.50.

This ambitious, extensively researched book examines a continuing theme of the twentieth-century presidency—its attempts to fulfill the managerial demands created by the emergence of the modern administrative state. Peri E. Arnold develops his theme with a thoroughness and conceptual sophistication that make this work a substantial contribution to the history of the American presidency.

The Constitution was designed for a premodern, prebureaucratic state, and, during the first hundred years or so of its existence, the administrative departments of the federal government were assumed to be primarily responsible to the Congress. The rapid, unplanned growth of the federal bureaucracy by the end of the nineteenth century created an increasingly perceived need for greater managerial control in the interests of economy and efficiency (frequently without the realization that these two values were by no means identical). This perception took on most of its substance from the emergence of public administration as a field of academic study. According to concepts of public management, often associated with the Progressive movement but actually transcending it, only the president could exercise comprehensive authority over the bureaucracy in the public interest.

The first major effort toward this objective was the Cleveland Commission, created by William Howard Taft. Subsequent notable episodes were the establishment of the Bureau of the Budget and its activities under Warren Harding, the Brownlow Commission in the 1930s, and the two Hoover Commissions under Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower. With Eisenhower's establishment of a President's Advisory Committee on Government

Organization as a permanent arm of his own office, planning for reorganization became a routine, generally expected, if relatively low-profile, function of the modern presidency.

The author establishes several themes. Each step reflected changing academic thinking about public administration. Each attempted to enlarge presidential managerial authority and thus inevitably created conflicts with a Congress jealous of its prerogatives. In general, each reflected confusion as to whether its objectives were to cut the bureaucracy or to bring greater efficiency to it. The more visible efforts tended to involve reactions to large increases in government spending or to a change in partisan control of the presidency or Congress.

Arnold clearly does not regret the major tangible results of reorganization, but he feels the process has reached the point of diminishing returns. Proposals for reorganization, he concludes, have seldom yielded impressive short-range results, have frequently inflicted net political damage on the presidents who advocated them, and, perhaps worst of all, have encouraged a misleading concept of the presidency as a managerial office. In fact, the presidency is primarily a position of political leadership and policy formulation. Administrative reorganization does not generate or sustain electoral coalitions, and modern presidents, invariably favorable to reorganization in the abstract, have been neither able nor willing to devote substantial energy and resources to it at the expense of more pressing objectives.

The managerial presidency, Arnold concludes, can become "a trap, offering increased capacity and influence to presidents but creating even greater expectations about presidential performance" (p. 362). Presidents require administrative power to realize policy goals, but they need to understand "that administration must be used tactically within a regime of dispersed authority" (p. 364). Hence, although they should reject the managerial presidency, they should be grateful that it has given them some of the tools they need to function effectively. An oddly equivocal conclusion to this excellent study, but a persuasive and cogent one all the same.

ALONZO L. HAMBY  
Ohio University

JON C. TEAFORD. *The Twentieth-Century American City: Problem, Promise, and Reality*. (The American Movement.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1986. Pp. x, 177. Cloth \$20.00, paper \$8.95.

The city, argues Jon C. Teaford, has been this country's "chief domestic dilemma" since the beginning of the twentieth century (p. ix). The struggles of urban reformers and, most of all, their failures tie

together this concise analysis of modern metropolitan America. Its seven brief chapters begin with the Progressive era and end with the 1970s, when the "metropolitan malaise seemed to be spreading, attacking smaller cities that had earlier escaped urban ills" (p. 152). Teaford delineates the failed "promises" of the city, as generation after generation of reformers tried to build harmonious communities out of disparate aggregates of people whose only connection was their shared political and geographic space. From Jacob Riis to Jane Jacobs, reformers sought ways for urban dwellers to find philosophical and cultural, as well as physical, common ground. Early twentieth-century crusaders against vice believed that harmony would emerge from the elimination of saloons and prostitution; in the 1950s planners saw urban renewal as the solution to central-city blight, and, by extension, to the decline of the city as a whole; in the 1960s the panacea was community control. None of them succeeded, Teaford tells us, because "Americans desired not a unified metropolis but a fragmented one" (p. 186).

This is a pessimistic book. In Teaford's view reformers, their good intentions notwithstanding, have either lagged one step behind the problems to be addressed or convinced cities to adopt solutions that in the end created even greater difficulties. Public housing, for example, despite its initial promise, not only failed to eliminate urban poverty but actually worsened things. The massive downtown renewal schemes of the 1950s succeeded in revitalizing central cities, but at the price of exacerbating conditions for the poor, who were forced to contend with decay and deterioration in their neighborhoods. Municipal corruption, too, proved a constant, sometimes punctuated by interludes of honest government. And the most spectacular urban success story, the suburbs, fragmented the metropolis to a degree undreamed of by the earliest urban reformers.

Despite its stress on disappointed hopes, this book offers readers something more than a catalogue of frustration. Teaford is an astute analyst of urban policy questions and the political consequences of suburbanization. Specialists in urban history will find little that is new here, although they will appreciate the crisp summary of major issues. Its primary audience will be students (and historians not specializing in cities). Although the lack of illustrations in a book to be assigned to undergraduates may be something of a drawback, its briskly informative style, national coverage, and inclusive bibliography should contribute to its wide use, as historians strive to make the complexities of the urban experience comprehensible to students.

MARGARET MARSH  
Stockton State College

BARBARA HILKERT ANDOLSEN. *"Daughters of Jefferson, Daughters of Bootblacks": Racism and American Feminism*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press. 1986. Pp. xiv, 130. Cloth \$21.95, paper \$12.95.

The structure of this intriguingly titled book well fits its purpose. In the first three of six chapters, Barbara Hilkert Andolsen, a self-described white middle-class theologian of feminist ethics, offers not a historical monograph based on meticulous research in primary sources and secondary studies but, rather, a provocative analysis of the moral bankruptcy of the white woman's suffrage movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Andolsen covers well-trodden ground and traces in broad strokes the ideological contours and shifts in the thought and behavior of leading suffragists Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Carrie Chapman Catt, and Anna Howard Shaw. Initially, white suffragists fought in concert with black female and male activists to win basic human rights for all. The ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, however, not only occasioned a severing of the historical ties between the black freedom movement and the white women's movement but also precipitated a rupture within white suffragist ranks, leading to the founding of the National Woman Suffrage Association.

Andolsen recounts how white suffragists ignored the moderate voices of black female suffragists and reformers. Following Stanton's and Anthony's lead, most white suffragists railed against the unfairness of "depraved Negro men" receiving the vote while women remained disfranchised. Accordingly, they capitulated to the racist social and political order. With a single-minded determination white suffragists adopted racist rhetoric, embraced virulent nativism, and invoked the American myth of true womanhood to gain the franchise.

Andolsen opens the second half of her book with a sober evaluation of the spiritual failings and tarnished legacy of the white woman's suffrage movement. Mindful of the sins of her forebears and with radical grace, she asserts that the white feminists who severed ties with the black freedom movement during Reconstruction were left "without structures of accountability on racial issues" (p. 80). Clearly, Andolsen, in this section, is speaking to her white feminist sisters who resist hearing the alternative voices and perspectives of black feminists and who seem reluctant or unable to acknowledge that "all white women" have privileged positions "as white persons" in American society and participate in institutions that sustain racial advantage (p. x).

This thoughtful, well-written, impassioned, and sincere work of liberation theology merits our attention. I have but one small quibble. If I were a white



feminist ethicist making a concerted effort to listen to the alternative voices of black feminists, I would devote more attention to their views on the grossly inequitable distribution of wealth and educational resources and on the feminization of poverty in America. Nevertheless, I wish the widest possible readership for Andolsen's good work.

DARLENE CLARK HINE  
Purdue University

FELICE D. GORDON. *After Winning: The Legacy of the New Jersey Suffragists, 1920–1947*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1986. Pp. x, 262. \$25.00.

Studies of women's political activism in the postsuffrage era have highlighted the bitter schism between female reformers and ardent feminists over the Equal Rights Amendment. Felice D. Gordon examines another divergence among former suffragists: that between those who adhered to issue-oriented, nonpartisan educational organizations such as the League of Women Voters or Prohibition and peace groups and those who opted to enter the major political parties. She traces the nonpartisan orientation to suffragists who campaigned for female enfranchisement because of women's presumed moral superiority, selfless commitment to social betterment, economic fairness, and political incorruptibility. The women who chose the partisan route were, in her view, former suffragists who had believed the vote was their right, their political due. In two of the more unfortunate and misleading terms that have recently come along, she labels these groups "moral prodders" and "equal righters" respectively.

Gordon traces the ideals, actions, and presumed legacies of these two groups from the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to 1947. In that year New Jersey wrote a new constitution in which rights were delegated to "persons," a victory according to feminists. To Gordon, however, the intervening years present a story of minimal gains and diminishing political influence for New Jersey women.

Gordon focuses on an important state during a crucial period, but her approach is narrow and skewed. Chronologically, the 1920s dominate her study, and her conclusion that women's political enthusiasm and potential were neither daunted nor diminished until after mid-decade is hardly a revelation. In the one chapter that focuses on the 1930s, Gordon misses an opportunity to test Susan Ware's thesis that the New Deal women—most of them partisan Democrats as well as "moral prodders" and former suffragists—enjoyed a brief period of glory during Franklin D. Roosevelt's first administration. It would be instructive to know whether the pleth-

ora of new federal reform and relief programs administered at state and local levels afforded appointments for New Jersey women. For incomprehensible reasons Ware's *Beyond Suffrage* (1981) does not even appear in Gordon's bibliography. Instead she stresses the failure of partisan women to penetrate the male preserve of party structures during the 1930s, at the same time women in nonpartisan organizations moved farther away from and above the fields of political battle.

Because Gordon focuses on former suffragists within New Jersey, she slights Mary T. Norton, the first Democratic woman elected to Congress, where she served thirteen terms. Instead, Gordon highlights Lillian Fieckart as a model "equal righter" who eagerly jumped into the trenches of New Jersey Republican politics and then fell from grace for her uncompromising stand on Prohibition. Fieckart's career dissolves the boundaries Gordon has so carefully constructed between moral righteousness and equal rights as the ideological explanation for women's differing political strategies. Moreover, her social profile of suffragists and brief sketches of activists in both camps do not explain why women walked different political paths.

Yet Gordon is correct in distinguishing between issue-oriented tactics and partisan politics. If she has not adequately explained why women preferred to concentrate on issues, perhaps part of the reason lies not in women's family values and social characteristics but in political culture. The hard-working, politically sophisticated women she has rediscovered and described opted for strategies and structures that had not only won them the vote but also supported the great influence they exerted on the American political scene for a generation before suffrage. Women could hardly be faulted for clinging to past associations that had served them so well when male Democrats and Republicans coopted some issues and rejected others that women had advanced with such commitment.

LOIS SCHARF  
Case Western Reserve University

STEPHEN J. RANDALL. *United States Foreign Oil Policy, 1919–1948: For Profits and Security*. Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1985. Pp. viii, 328. \$35.00.

Ever since the oil crisis began in the early 1970s, a number of books have been written on American foreign oil policy; many are very good, a few are mediocre, two or three are very bad. Now that the oil crisis has apparently passed, at least for the moment (indeed, I am writing this review when the price for oil on the spot market is as low as twelve dollars a barrel), it is perhaps fitting that Stephen J.

Randall has published this book, which is the best and most comprehensive treatment of American foreign oil policy that has so far been written. Although Randall concludes his study in 1948 for reasons that he outlines in his introduction, his point that "the period before 1950 represented a lost opportunity during which the United States might have moved in concert with other major producer and consumer nations toward a more rational internationalist approach to a major world raw material" provides an appropriate prelude for understanding the crisis that developed later (p. 5). The same is true for his remarks on the oil industry and what he refers to as "the associational state," a cooperative arrangement between the American international oil companies and the federal government in which both the oil companies and the government worked together to protect (in the case of Latin America) and expand (in the cases of Latin America, the Mideast, and the Far East) American oil interests under the guise of upholding the nation's traditional open door policy. The oil companies sought profits; Washington, national security. Randall makes clear that where the two objectives clashed, as in Latin America, in the years just before and during World War II, the interests of the oil industry were subordinated to the larger national interest; in other words, Washington was never the handmaiden of the oil industry, itself composed of different and often competing interests. But, as Randall remarks, as early as the 1920s it was generally recognized both in the public and private sector "that the emergence of the United States as a major military and economic power made a higher level of state intervention in the private sector essential for the ability of American firms to compete internationally" (p. 253). Randall contends that Washington's failure to develop a comprehensive oil policy and reliance on a cooperative arrangement with the oil industry to achieve national security objectives abroad (including the end of traditional spheres of influence, a plentiful supply of oil for the United States and its allies, and the containment of nationalism) contributed significantly to the oil crisis of the 1970s. For, as he also comments, after World War II there was a "decline of the capacity of the major oil companies to control the international industry in the way they had before World War II" (p. 260).

None of Randall's major themes are particularly new. The concept of the associational state, most closely associated with Ellis Hawley but also apparent in the work of such diverse writers as James Weinstein, Robert Cuff, and Robert Griffith, has become a standard part of the literature. Bryce Wood and Stephen Rabe have already covered much the same ground that Randall covers with respect to Latin America, and his differences with them are not substantial. Much the same can be said

about the books on Mideast oil by Irving Anderson, Aaron Miller, and Michael Stoff. Books and articles by Anderson, Stephen Kane, and Michael Hogan also stress the mutuality of public and private interests in American foreign oil policy. But Randall has integrated the various facets of this policy and related them to the theme of the associational state better than anyone else. Moreover, he has read all the major works on oil policy and has thoroughly investigated the archival and manuscript materials in Washington, London, and elsewhere. The result is a finely textured and thoroughly documented study that should be read by any policy maker or historian interested in oil and energy policy or American business history.

BURTON I. KAUFMAN  
Kansas State University

ROBERT H. ZIEGER. *American Workers, American Unions, 1920-1985*. (The American Moment.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1986. Pp. xii, 233.

This book is the second in a series of analytical and narrative discussions of various topics in American history. Robert H. Zieger's analytical survey of organized labor in the years 1920-85 would be perfect as a basic text for introductory graduate or undergraduate courses in American labor history or as a supplementary reading in more general American history courses.

Zieger's survey reviews the essentials: organized labor in prosperity (the 1920s) and depression (the 1930s); the changing role of the federal government in labor relations through the Wagner Act, the National War Labor Board in World War II, and the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947; the split of the CIO from the AFL in the 1930s and the reunification in 1955; organized labor and its "affluent" workers in the 1950s and the 1960s; the AFL-CIO's anticommunism, voluntarism, and political action; and contemporary events. Unlike many surveys that are crammed with details but devoid of ideas, Zieger's treatment contains interesting and thought-provoking analytical perspectives on historical developments.

Zieger focuses on the apparently contradictory, but at least unique, nature of organized labor in the United States. The American labor movement does not act like that of a European working class, accepts and does not threaten the economic and political system, has not formed a third political party, and seems to have been fully integrated into the dominant acquisitive, individualist value system. Yet organized labor purports to champion the causes of the working class and has been politically most

effective when it has united with broad liberal coalitions in attempts to change the capitalistic system.

In exchange for a system of collective bargaining with employers that provided great improvements in wages, hours, and working conditions and protections against arbitrary discipline for many of its members, organized labor gave up its right to strike during the duration of such contracts, turned control of shop-floor grievances over to third-party "experts," and became a disciplinary agent against members who violated such contracts. To get a greater payoff from the system, organized labor also conceded to employers wide-ranging managerial rights and thereby abandoned Philip Murray's and Walter Reuther's vision of the reshaping of the economic and social order through labor's deep involvement in the scheduling, planning, and production processes of industry.

The labor movement's limited vision and missed opportunities in the midst of economic achievement are beautifully illustrated by Zieger's observation that pension funds earned by workers—"money that might have been used for cooperative housing projects, worker managed industry, or other forms of innovative social investment" (p. 151)—are often put into the hands of investment bankers and used to finance nonunion firms and racially segregated housing.

Such bitter ironies abound in the history of the American union movement. Those mentioned here, as well as many others—such as the influence of the federal government on union growth and decline and labor's treatment of women and blacks—are carefully chronicled and provocatively discussed in this excellent book, which includes a valuable bibliographic essay.

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ROGER BILES. *Memphis in the Great Depression*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1986. Pp. 174. \$23.95.

This book is an exciting, well-written account of the New Deal in a southern city, but, in seeking an original position, it tells only a little more than half the truth. Roger Biles refuses to recognize "change" and chooses instead the more pessimistic perspective of "continuity" for viewing the impact of the New Deal on Memphis. Intent on photographing his sunbelt metropolis as a persisting plantation, Biles does not change the lens even in his epilogue, in which he offers prints of the contemporary city as the same Old South.

The core of the book is a vivid portrait of tyrannical Boss E. H. Crump using federal New Deal money to reinforce all the southern evils: racism, union busting, and provincialism. Biles's assertion that "the New Deal failed to transform the local political system" and that "in fact, it did not even try" is an unassailable position shared by other urban historians (p. 86). But when he goes further, beyond the 1930s, to argue that neither the long-term effects of the New Deal nor the war spending of the 1940s brought meaningful change, he writes from a narrow focus.

Surprisingly, Biles ignores the Justice Department's investigation of Memphis civil liberties abuses in 1940 and the machine's subsequent retreat from physical force. After 1940 the CIO successfully organized the local Firestone workers into a union for social and political change. Economic growth financed by military spending attracted thousands of new Memphians who had no loyalties to the old leader. Boss Crump surely lost all "plantation" power in the 1940s. White men feared to run for office against his candidates in the 1930s, but by 1951 not only did whites oppose him but even a prosperous black businessman announced for the Memphis school board.

In the economic insecurity of the depression era people may have huddled together under a Crump or Roosevelt, giving the plantation model some credibility, but in better times the Old South metaphor distorts the complexity of this southern metropolitan area. Even in Memphis, change occurred, despite Crump. And the old leader had no monopoly on resistance to change, as Biles, a student of Chicago mayors, should know.

DAVID M. TUCKER  
Memphis State University

GRAHAM WHITE and JOHN MAZE. *Harold Ickes of the New Deal: His Private Life and Public Career*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1985. Pp. vi, 263. \$20.00.

Harold Ickes, secretary of interior, public works administrator, and petroleum coordinator in the presidential administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt, was the leading conservationist of the 1930s, a fighter for civil rights, and a champion of oppressed Indians, Jews, and Japanese-Americans. Ickes is remembered as an incorruptible public servant whose departments spent billions of dollars with hardly a trace of graft or embezzlement.

In one sense Graham White's and John Maze's account of Ickes's public life is not revisionist. They conclude that Ickes "restored the reputation of a great department and administered it better than

any of his predecessors" (p. 240), praise Ickes for protecting "the weak from the oppressors" and for conserving "what remained of the nation's resources" (pp. 240, 241), and note that Ickes's involvement in reform causes "brought him a degree of professional fulfillment and social prominence that he otherwise might not have achieved" (p. 65). They share Ickes's belief that many public questions involved a conflict between the public good and "the interests," those selfish and generally corrupt groups that exploited people for the sole aim of aggrandizement and profit" (p. 159). This is history in the conventional progressive tradition.

In explaining Ickes's actions, historian White turned to Maze, a psychologist. The result is an explicitly Freudian insistence that Ickes's political activity was a reaction to experiences in his formative years. In Ickes's case, we are told, "an overcompensatory masculine protest . . . gained special prominence . . . because of the actual physical humiliations imposed on him by a father-surrogate, his elder brother John, reinforcing the normal, unconscious castration-anxiety focused on his actual father" (p. 22). Ickes's work for conservation was allegedly undertaken to protect "his own genitality" (the "forest giants" were "classic phallic symbols" [p. 157]). Further, in battling corporations and colleagues, Ickes allegedly was compensating for an underlying concern about his male potency.

This sort of analysis could be relentlessly irritating. But White and Maze have produced a generally interesting, often persuasive, and only occasionally dubious book. My concern is not that their psychohistory sometimes misses the mark but that discussion of their psychological methods may obscure both the importance of Ickes's work and the significance of the authors' discovery of evidence that Ickes committed offenses that, had they been known, would have required his dismissal from the cabinet and incarceration.

Ickes himself told the story in a remarkable memoir that White discovered in 1980. For over twenty years Ickes was unhappily married to Anna Wilmarth, who initially appealed to the impoverished young Ickes because of her wealth. The marriage proved disastrous, and Ickes's involvement with another woman may have been inevitable. While a member of Roosevelt's cabinet, Ickes used patronage to begin and to facilitate an affair by giving his mistress and her fiancé jobs in his department and then dispatching his rival on a lengthy assignment in the Midwest.

After learning of the affair, Anna Ickes executed a codicil to her will, cutting Harold down to his statutory share and naming her son Wilmarth (Harold's stepson) as executor in place of Harold. Three years later, after Anna's death, Harold deftly persuaded her lawyer to destroy the codicil. Wil-

marth committed suicide one year later, on the anniversary of his mother's death, and left a note informing his wife that he could no longer stand Harold's treatment of him.

The policemen called to the scene of the suicide gave the note to Chief Peterson, who in turn gave the note to Ickes, who arranged for its suppression. At the inquest, as Ickes recalled in his memoir, "the Lieutenant . . . who had found the note was put on. [The coroner] . . . asked him whether he had made a search for letters and notes. The Lieutenant, looking the Coroner straight in the eye, told him that he had searched carefully, but had found nothing . . . Chief Peterson denied that anything had been found. They perjured themselves magnificently and I have always felt tremendously grateful to them" (p. 151).

Anna's foster son Robert subsequently began a protracted legal action "against which Ickes fought like a tiger, using every resource, overt and covert, of his official position"—including F.B.I. investigations and illegal surveillance to discover whether any of Robert's actions could be construed as criminal (p. 194). Ickes eventually prevailed.

Why did Ickes leave this candid account in his private papers? He really was "Honest Harold." He wanted posterity to know he was a cad and a crook.

RAYMOND WOLTERS  
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VINCENT C. JONES. *Manhattan: The Army and the Atomic Bomb*. (United States Army in World War II Special Studies.) Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1985. Pp. xx, 660.

The American project to build the atomic bomb during World War II was a massive effort involving thousands of scientists, engineers, and military personnel. During the four decades since the war historians have focused their attention on the political, international, scientific, and technical aspects of the Manhattan Project, but relatively little has been written about the underlying administrative structure that made the whole project work. Vincent C. Jones has now filled this gap in this last volume in the distinguished series on the U.S. Army in World War II.

Jones has taken full advantage of the passage of time to mine an enormous body of documentation, some of it unavailable for earlier studies, and to see the project from the detached perspective that is only possible when the passions of the hour have cooled. He has wisely chosen not to repeat the oft-told tales that fill popular accounts of the project but rather to concentrate on the administrative techniques that were as essential to success as were science and engineering.

In the first four chapters Jones describes the army's initial and limited participation in the project between 1939 and 1942, when most of the activity involved scientific research. With the reorganization of the Manhattan Engineer District under General Leslie R. Groves in the summer of 1942, the army took over administration of the project and began the difficult transition from laboratory experiment to full-scale industrial plants, a task that rivaled any other wartime industrial project in scope and complexity. Chapters 5 through 9 describe the organization and management methods that the army used to design, build, and operate the four mammoth installations that produced fissionable material for the bomb.

The next fourteen chapters cover the wide variety of support activities from security and the acquisition of land to foreign intelligence operations. Not all of these are exciting subjects for narrative, but Jones provides a clear, concise, readable text. The final five chapters cover the development of the weapon at Los Alamos, the Trinity test, the attacks on Japan (all from the administrative perspective), and the army's role in early postwar development.

Jones does not rely on flashy interpretations or catchy anecdotes; he just writes good, solid history that shows a mastery of the subject and sources. This book is an indispensable source for historians and others writing about the early development of atomic energy.

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DONALD R. WHITNAH and EDGAR L. ERICKSON. *The American Occupation of Austria: Planning and Early Years*. (Contributions in Military Studies, number 46.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1985. Pp. xiv, 352. \$39.95.

This is a thoroughly researched and diligently written book. Donald R. Whitnah and Edgar L. Erickson spend two-thirds of their space on the period from 1942 to 1945, and this part of the narrative eschews interpretation. Quoting and paraphrasing at length from official documents, Whitnah and Erickson have tried to allow the facts themselves to chronicle American planning for the occupation of Austria. The last third of the study covers the early years of the occupation from 1945 to 1949. Here the authors explicitly avoid telling the story of the many attempts to conclude the Austrian State Treaty of 1955. This is, they acknowledge, the task of William B. Bader's *Austria Between East and West, 1945-1955* (1966). Instead, Whitnah and Erickson use a stream of anecdotes—"authentic life-and-times accounts" (p. xiii)—to give the reader a sense

of the texture of the occupation during the early period.

The account that emerges will be familiar to students who are aware of the more well known issues surrounding the occupation of Germany. The formulation of a coherent occupation policy was hampered by confusion about goals within the American government itself, infighting among various government agencies, and then conflict with the other victorious powers, especially France and Russia. The Austrians used these difficulties to carve out a measure of autonomy for themselves.

Germany and Austria, however, presented different problems. When the war began, the United States was uncertain of what the status of Austria should be because that nation so willingly accepted the *Anschluss* of 1938. Only in late 1943 did the Americans officially agree to treat Austria as a victim of Nazi aggression. Nonetheless, the Austrians were held partially responsible for Nazi deeds, and in 1945 and 1946 the country was supposed to be "denazified."

The result in Austria was, again, similar to what occurred in Germany: denazification failed. Many fascist "hangers-on probably suffered unduly with loss of jobs and additional humiliation," and the United States never weeded out many "tainted" civil servants (p. 219).

BRUCE KUKLICK  
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SANFORD J. UNGAR, editor. *Estrangement: America and the World*. (Carnegie Endowment Book.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1985. Pp. xii, 347. \$17.95.

Indira Gandhi, addressing an American audience in 1972, declared that "the United States has yet to resolve the contradictions between the traditions of the founding fathers and of Lincoln and the external image it gives of superpower politics" (p. ix). Claude Cheysson, the French foreign minister, complained in 1982 that spokesmen of the Reagan administration seldom talked seriously even with the allied governments of Europe. Foreigners who laud American civilization for its freedom and vibrancy condemn much of the country's external behavior as misguided, if not dangerous. This collection of essays catalogues the evidences of estrangement in America's world relations and attempts to explain Washington's propensity to alienate international leaders, analysts, and observers.

Such alienation did not always exist. Sanford J. Ungar notes in his introductory essay that the United States, supported by unchallengeable economic and technological superiority, emerged from war in 1945 as the self-assigned keeper of the peace and promoter of the world's economic progress and



political stability. As such, the United States enjoyed almost universal approval, especially within the Western community. In their exuberance many Americans assumed that the country's economic and political system would become the model for the postwar world, creating at last what Henry Luce once termed "the American Century." When Soviet power and ideology blocked American influence in Eastern Europe and threatened to do so elsewhere, the United States found itself facing troublesome problems in distant lands—problems that seemed to touch the interests of other nations far more deeply than those of the United States. As early as midcentury American policy created convictions, both at home and abroad, that its purposes in Eastern Europe and the Third World exceeded the requirements of Western security. The essays in this volume reveal the tension between Washington's claims to global interests and aspirations and the refusal of Europeans, Asians, and Latin Americans to acknowledge them.

Little that matters is ignored. Robert Dallek discovers the roots of estrangement in the attitudes and actions of the administration of Harry S. Truman. Frances Fitzgerald finds them in the American messianic vision embodied in nineteenth-century Protestant theology. Philip L. Geyelin goes back to John Quincy Adams for the American disinclination to become involved abroad and the resulting incoherence when the nation's leaders embark on potentially costly foreign engagements. For Donald McHenry the problem lies in the country's failure to understand nationalism and its central concern for self-determination. Ali A. Mazrui points to the refusal of American officials to take advice from the less powerful. Robert J. Donovan analyzes the impact of the Korean War on the American outlook toward Asia. Emphasizing the country's failure to distinguish general from vital interests abroad, J. Bryan Hehir, Godfrey Hodgson, Lester C. Thurow, and James Chace deal with the events of the 1960s to the 1980s. In his concluding essay Richard H. Ullman asserts that estrangement, although neither desirable nor altogether necessary, has not proved disastrous and that a leading power cannot conduct policies acceptable to all nations all of the time. This brief review can only suggest the high quality of these essays and the often-troubling messages that they convey.

Even those who recognize America's estrangement from much of the world do not agree on the causes. For some the United States could overcome all its policy deficiencies with greater assertiveness and determination; for others, including all contributors to this volume, the problem lies not in the failure of means but in the lack of coherence and realism in the definition of ends. The fundamental sources of tension seem to lie in two tendencies in

the American outlook: the exaggeration of the Soviet threat and the failure to appreciate the basically indigenous nature of Third World instability. Clearly, the underlying assumption of global danger produces the unreasonable expectations, interventionism, and unilateralism that alienate other governments and peoples. From the fall of China's Nationalist government in 1949, through the long Vietnam War, to the present controversy over Nicaragua, the United States has found little external support for its Third World policies. Americans who have insisted that the United States develop the power and will to compel conformity with its preferences face the legions at home and abroad who see a minimum of danger in the existing international order and favor policies designed to live with it. Still, the policies of estrangement and the divisions they create are more easily described than accounted for. None of the essays in this volume explain precisely how the tendencies to globalize American purposes came to dominate the official outlook of the United States during the presidencies of Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower.

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CHARLES J. BASHE *et al.* *IBM's Early Computers*. (MIT Press Series in the History of Computing.) Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986. Pp. xviii, 716. \$27.50.

In the fifteen years between 1946—when ENIAC, the first true electronic computer, went into operation—and 1961—when International Business Machines (IBM) made a decision to develop a compatible family of computers eventually announced as the IBM System/360—the computer revolution burst on the world. No comparable time period has displayed such rapid technological innovation with such radical implications. In these years IBM changed from a data-processing company whose success was based on punched cards, electromechanical devices, and exceptional customer service to a technological leader in the computer revolution. This volume traces the technological transformation of IBM in those years.

The book begins with a background chapter on the development of punched-card machines and moves on to chapters on IBM's move into electronics and the creation of its first computers, some for scientific work, others for business applications. A chapter on the first-generation IBM computers is followed by a series of chapters on particular problems: magnetic tape, ferrite-core memories, disk storage, and programming. The account then addresses the shift from vacuum tubes to transistors, Project Stretch (an only partially successful attempt at a major technological advance), and applications

of computers in the late 1950s. It concludes with a chapter on scientific research at IBM and a brief summary analysis.

This is technological history of the highest quality. Charles J. Bashe *et al* have technical expertise and yet maintain admirable objectivity. They had full access to IBM records and people; the documentation is impressive. They focus on IBM but always place the discussion in the larger context of general developments in computers. The authors maintain a good balance among describing the setting, analyzing the technology, and assessing the contributions of individuals. If they are mainly concerned with technology, they nevertheless give adequate attention to the corporate setting and the implications of technical change. The writing is admirably clear, and illustrations are well chosen and well placed to help the reader understand the text.

This book is rich in insight and generalization and in technical and organizational particulars. Although I have no space to cite examples, special note should be made of the authors' consistent concern for the processes of decision making and of their attention to investigative failures, often as illuminating as successes.

This book should be widely read. But how much technical background does the reader need to gain access to it? Basic college-level physics (particularly electronics) and a primitive understanding of the operation of computers will probably suffice. Still, books such as this, as well as volumes in fields such as economic history, history of science, and demography, remind us of the increasing fragmentation of historical literature.

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#### CANADA

J. C. YERBURY. *The Subarctic Indians and the Fur Trade, 1680–1860*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1986. Pp. x, 189. \$18.50.

J. C. Yerbury's work assesses the impact of European contact on the sociocultural environment of the Athapaskan Indians of the subarctic region of North America. He examines native adaptations to European influences through an extensive reexamination and reiteration of the secondary sources on the subject. Moreover, by using the hitherto largely unused manuscripts, journals, and correspondence of Hudson's Bay Company fur traders, Yerbury attempts to illustrate the societal changes that transformed the various Athapaskan Indian groups from the earliest years of the development of the fur trade west of Hudson's Bay.

Yerbury's frequent presentation of descriptions from sources and his attention to historical accuracy when quoting from them set his work apart from that of others dealing with the ethnohistory of the northern native peoples. Observations of fur traders, travelers, and explorers provide a composite view of the Indians as they became involved in the trade for furs. The evidence used to reconstruct their past is, however, fragmentary and, consequently, so is the text of Yerbury's book. The Hudson's Bay material enhances our knowledge of the Athapaskans and their attempts to deal with the fur trader's world. Yerbury's attention to details such as correct Indian names and the various derivations of native band names is meritorious. His meticulous use of historical evidence is also to be commended. Yet with the thinnest of evidence it is difficult to establish that a dramatic sociocultural change took place among the Athapaskans beginning with the "protohistoric" era—the period of indirect trade through Indian middlemen. That the cultural environment of the native groups of the Great Slave Lake and Mackenzie River region underwent a gradual change is harder to refute. Yerbury stops short of discussing the influence of missionary activities in the subarctic region, which, as Yerbury admits, did not become truly influential until after 1858.

Yerbury outlines the fatal result of the European invasion of the north. He documents the ravages of disease. He also demonstrates the havoc created among the Indian bands by the intense competition from 1800 to 1821 between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. Regrettably, little mention is made of the cultural impact of the trade in liquor. Some subarctic specialists would support Yerbury's contention that the culture and environment of the Indians of the region began to change at an early phase of outside contact as a result of European influence, but his attempt to convince a wider audience suffers from insufficient documentary integration and forceful argumentation. The work comes replete with twenty-one tables, seventeen figures (including an Indian chart of Liard River), a full bibliography of manuscript and other sources, and a good index.

BARRY MORTON GOUGH  
Wilfrid Laurier University

DIANNE NEWELL. *Technology on the Frontier: Mining in Old Ontario*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1986. Pp. 220. \$19.50.

Mining is literally boring—drilling, digging, tunneling. And that is mainly what this book is about, the methods used to drill, pump, excavate, and refine in the western Ontario sedimentary basin and in the

hard rock of the Laurentian shield between the 1840s and 1880s.

Mining is an extremely risky enterprise, subject to the extremes of boom and bust, the vagaries of unstable markets, and the whimsical mysteries of geology. Mining also serves other purposes. Mark Twain's famous observation that a mine was a hole in the ground with a liar on top errs only by overestimating the need for the hole.

Much of the literature on mining in Canada focuses either on the development of public policy or the alluring themes of speculation and discovery, in which the heroism and determination of far-seeing prospectors largely feature. Less has been written about the institutional structure of the industry, mine development, finance, industrial organization, recruitment of labor, and markets, to cite only a few examples. A book dealing with the early technology of mining in Canada is therefore especially welcome, and one hopes it will mark the beginning of a new phase of scholarship.

Despite its handsome production, Dianne Newell's book would have benefited from firmer editorial guidance. Moreover, because mines came and went with bewildering rapidity in this marginal setting, the subject—technological adaptation and innovation—is all too easily lost in the blur of successive company failures.

These quibbles notwithstanding, Newell has some interesting things to say about the adaptations of existing technology and the addition of innovations to the international technological pool that occurred within three subregions of Ontario (the Upper Great Lakes, Southeastern, and Western Peninsular districts). Her most successful case studies deal with the Bruce Mines (on labor organization) and Silver Islet (on William Frue's famous Vanner) in the Upper Great Lakes District and the oil and salt industries of the southwest. Elsewhere fragmentary sources and fleeting enterprises hinder sustained analysis.

Newell argues that Ontario was not a major producer of new technology because of the economically marginal nature of most operations. But a surprisingly vigorous, multisourced application and adaptation of lower-level technology suitable to small-scale, undercapitalized ventures did occur. And in a few rare instances in which enterprises reached the required market thresholds indigenous techniques and machinery arose to enrich the international technological pool of ideas.

Because the book stops short of the major mining era that began in the 1890s, we still do not know much about technological performance in the Canadian mining industry when it reached scale. Nevertheless, Newell's book offers a hint of what lies in store for us when historians of technology apply

themselves fully to the rich and largely untapped resources of Canadian economic development.

H. V. NELLES  
York University

BERNARD L. VIGOD. *Quebec Before Duplessis: The Political Career of Louis-Alexandre Taschereau*. Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1986. Pp. xi, 312. \$35.00.

Louis-Alexandre Taschereau was premier of the province of Quebec from 1920 to 1935 and a member of the provincial legislature since 1900. A somewhat distant, dour patrician of aristocratic bearing, he spent much of his life fighting clerical nationalists on his right while quietly going about the business of administering provincial affairs.

His life presents a formidable challenge to a biographer, not simply because he left behind few papers. He was not a man of bold ideas, sweeping visions, or heroic single causes. He did not leave behind any great legislative or institutional monument. He was instead a minder, a negotiator, a steadying hand, a deal maker, a broker, and an arbiter. The fate of such people is to lead long and interesting political lives but, perhaps by way of compensation, to suffer stolid biographies. Taschereau negotiated most of the difficult political currents in the phantasmagorical world of Quebec politics during the first three decades of the twentieth century, in which the political margin opened up not to the Left but to bewildering congeries of ultramontane, clerical nationalisms on the Right. A man of the sensible mean, moderately progressive (in a Quebec context) yet cautiously conservative, Taschereau was a survivor for most of his political life—right up until the end.

In the history books he is remembered more as the man Maurice Duplessis defeated in 1936 than as the man who had been at or close to the center of power in Quebec for a generation. Sadly, he was not only defeated but also personally humiliated, and his family name was besmirched.

A long political career presents its own problems to a biographer, and Bernard L. Vigod surmounts them with considerable panache and skill. The author makes no effort to disguise his partisanship; his subtextual battle with Quebec nationalism is every bit as vigorous as Taschereau's more open struggle. This book strikingly cuts across the grain of contemporary historical scholarship on Quebec, and for that reason alone it can be recommended to those interested in a good argument. The text moves along briskly; chapters usually cover a well-defined subperiod by focusing on the main issues of that period. The emphasis on issues rather than personalities makes this biography for the moment the best

single work in English or French on the political history of Quebec in the first third of the twentieth century.

H. V. NELLES  
York University

DAVID MACKENZIE. *Inside the Atlantic Triangle: Canada and the Entrance of Newfoundland into Confederation, 1939–1949*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1986. Pp. xi, 285. \$32.50.

In the summer of 1940 a mutually advantageous deal was struck between the governments of Great Britain and the United States: in exchange for fifty overage but still seaworthy American destroyers Britain would give the United States the right to establish military bases on its colonial possessions in the Caribbean and western Atlantic. Of these the one with the most obvious strategic value to the United States was the island of Newfoundland, along with its vast mainland territory of Labrador. Newfoundland, however, was an area where Canada's national interests were also vitally engaged, not only militarily, since Canada had already assumed paramount responsibility for its defense, but also politically, since the issue of whether Newfoundland should become a province of Canada was of long standing. A large new American presence on the island was bound to affect both. Thus was the stage set for a decade of wide-ranging negotiations and consultations on Newfoundland affairs among the three close partners in the Atlantic alliance.

David Mackenzie's book traces the development of the various issues involved. The first half is devoted to strategic and military issues and includes chapters dealing with the sharing of overall responsibility for Newfoundland's defense, the establishment of Canadian and American naval installations and air bases (the construction of which had a massive impact on the island's puny economy), the problems of command and coordination that arose between Canadian and American forces during the Battle of the Atlantic (which were amicably resolved), the difficult joint task of building a major air base at Goose Bay in Labrador to facilitate the ferrying of aircraft to Britain, and the development of civil aviation, where Newfoundland's postwar role as a stepping stone on the lucrative transatlantic route was early recognized and provoked considerable maneuvering for commercial advantage by all the parties involved. This part of the book breaks new ground in exploring these matters in detail, based on newly opened archival sources. It will be of interest to military and diplomatic historians and to specialists in Anglo-American and Canadian-American affairs.

The second half is devoted to an examination of the problem of Newfoundland's postwar political future and is, on the whole, less valuable in that it covers a subject that has already been thoroughly explored elsewhere. Although it adds some new details to the picture in its treatment of Anglo-Canadian cooperation and the evolution of Ottawa's policies toward Newfoundland, these do no more than confirm the generally understood version of events.

In general, this book offers a contrast to some recent works that have tended to concentrate on the irritations and frictions that were also, perhaps inevitably, present in a complex triangular alliance. But in their dealings with Newfoundland, at least, the Allies worked together with admirable harmony and pragmatic good sense. And in allowing the people of Newfoundland to choose their own political future (which they did in 1949 by voting in a national referendum to join Canada) each behaved with impeccable propriety: Canada exerted no undue influence, Britain ensured that the vote was fairly and honestly conducted, and the United States throughout maintained a benevolent neutrality.

S. J. R. NOEL  
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K. J. REA. *The Prosperous Years: The Economic History of Ontario, 1939–1975*. (Ontario Historical Studies.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1985. Pp. xiv, 287. Cloth \$27.50, paper \$12.50.

This is the first volume of a projected three-volume series on the economic history of Canada's largest and most economically significant province. That the volumes on the earlier years will come last is unfortunate, since the modern economy of Ontario is so much the product of what went before. Nevertheless, this volume is valuable in its own right and fills a large gap in the literature on Canada's recent economic history.

Kenneth J. Rea has chosen to organize his study by themes rather than chronology. This arrangement makes the task of studying a specific period more difficult but greatly simplifies the examination of particular topics such as education, agriculture, mines, and forests. Because the series that sponsored this book tries to appeal to the perhaps mythical general reader, this book is more descriptive than theoretical, more traditional than innovative. Equations are missing; other scholarly apparatus associated with economic history is also largely absent. Rea, however, demonstrates that he is well acquainted with the academic literature, and his colleagues will find little to criticize in this book. All historians will profit from reading this accessible, clearly written, and well-balanced work.

Some of the book's difficulties were beyond the control of the author. In the first place, Ontario is a part of a larger national unit, and the kind of statistics that are available to those studying a national economy simply were not available for Rea. Second, the private sector and especially private capital formation are sketchily covered. This lacuna may again be attributed to lack of information, but, in a work in which the author argues that government policy had little impact on economic events in Ontario, this absence is particularly regrettable. Third, one may argue that the economic policy of the government of Ontario had less effect on what happened in Ontario than is normally believed, but the extent to which this is true for federal government policy is not really considered in this book. Rea discusses individual federal policies but gives no broad examination of the impact of those policies.

An excellent beginning to an important series, Rea's book makes available the often-arcane research on modern economic history to a wider audience. Since most members of this audience are not familiar with this research, the omission of a bibliography is most surprising. The editors should rectify this for the future volumes.

JOHN ENGLISH  
University of Waterloo

#### LATIN AMERICA

CHERYL ENGLISH MARTIN, *Rural Society in Colonial Morelos*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986. Pp. x, 255. \$27.50.

In this study Cheryl English Martin examines land tenure and usage and the impact thereof on social relations among the peoples of the present Mexican state of Morelos from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Using manuscript materials—many unused or ineffectively used heretofore—from Mexico's Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Spain's Archivo General de Indias (AGI), the private collection of Juan Dubernard of Cuernavaca, Mexico, and the microfilm collections of the Genealogical Society of Utah (GSU), she admirably realizes her purpose. As she observes, the Tierras and Hospital de Jesús ramos of the AGN and the parish registers from the GSU collections yielded the most valuable of the data she used.

Those data enabled Martin to demonstrate the profound impact of the development of the sugar cane industry (introduced by Fernando Cortés in the 1520s) on land tenure and use in Morelos. Combined with the ravages of epidemic diseases and responsive seventeenth-century resettlement programs of Spanish colonial administrators and

with the influx of large numbers of African slaves, that industry fundamentally altered socioeconomic patterns in the Morelos valleys and towns.

Martin provides convincing evidence of another major contributor to substantive social change in Morelos: the consistent migration of Indians into the area from other parts of Mexico throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. She cites that migration and solid evidence of marital endogamy among Indian commoners as explanation for the retention throughout the colonial period by Morelos settlements of a core population that was racially, culturally, and linguistically Indian, despite the fact (which she clearly documents) that the non-Indian population of every major town in the area outnumbered the Indian population by the close of the colonial period.

In her concluding chapter Martin provides a fascinating glimpse of the tensions created at the close of the colonial era by the development in Morelos of three competing socioeconomic groups: the *hacendado* producers of sugar and indigo, the non-Indian *labradores* (renters of land who produced foodstuffs for Mexico's urban markets), and the Indian peasant farmers and laborers. Her concluding findings, which center on the town of Yautepec in the first decade of the nineteenth century, are indispensable for anyone interested in the independence movement in Mexico and the subsequent so-called liberalization process and its failure.

Martin's study of Morelos easily merits a place among the works—such as those of William Taylor, David Brading, Eric Van Young, and Peter Bakewell—that are essential to an understanding of the socioeconomic and political history of colonial Mexico.

G. MICHAEL RILEY  
Ohio State University

JACK JACKSON, *Los Mesteños: Spanish Ranching in Texas, 1721–1821*. (Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University, number 18.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1986. Pp. xx, 704. \$34.50.

Ranching, the core of the economic life of Spanish Texas, has been largely ignored by historians. Jack Jackson's book makes up for this neglect and provides the best and most exhaustive research on this important topic to date. Jackson traces the rise of the cattle economy, the crown's attempts to control it, and the settlers' reaction to this intrusion. The study also underlines Texas's commercial ties to the other Spanish American provinces and to Louisiana and links the decline of the missions to their inability to compete with the settlers for unbranded livestock (*mesteños*).



Well-documented, despite Jackson's disclaimer that he is not an academic, this hefty tome furnishes estimates of herd sizes in different periods, maps the major ranch holdings, and reviews all cattle-related court cases and decrees. Furthermore, it supplies a wealth of information in the notes and in several appendixes and adds the author's own sketches to the growing collection of illustrations of eighteenth-century Texas.

Unfortunately, the book lacks control, balance, and perspective. The author is often folksy, sometimes flippant. He gives all cattle-related topics, regardless of merit, the same detailed attention. More importantly, Jackson is apparently unacquainted with the issues that currently dominate the historiography of Spanish American colonial communities and independence movements. Thus he overlooks the full impact of the cattle economy on Texas's social structure and politics. He alludes to, but does not make explicit, the connection between the development of the livestock resource and the rise of new elites in San Fernando de Béxar (San Antonio). He also fails to emphasize the close relationship between the town's social divisions, the economic crisis at the turn of the nineteenth century, and the turmoil of the era of independence.

The epilogue, which serves as a conclusion, is particularly disappointing. It is an overly lengthy rebuttal of Terry Jordan's claim (in *Trails to Texas: southern Roots of Western Ranching* [1981]) that the state's nineteenth-century cattle grazing traditions stem more from southern than from Spanish-Mexican sources. Valid as this discussion on Hispanic contributions to later ranching practices may be, it should not have preempted an analysis of the social, economic, and political currents described in the narrative or a comparison of the economy of Texas to that of other cattle regions.

Even so, Jackson's book remains an important contribution to the history of Spanish Texas. Rich in information, it will be an indispensable source for all subsequent research on the province's colonial past.

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San Antonio

JOSEFINA ZORAIDA VÁZQUEZ and LORENZO MEYER. *The United States and Mexico. (The United States in the World: Foreign Perspectives.)* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1985. Pp. xiii, 220. \$29.00.

The basic premise of this book is an indictment of the writing of diplomatic history in this country. As the editor notes in the foreword, the book is published as one of a series that examines "American relations with other countries from a perspective that lies outside the United States" (p. ix). In their preface Josefina Zoraida Vázquez and Lorenzo

Meyer declare that American historians "seem not to understand to what degree the conquest of half of Mexico's territory in 1848 determined the feelings of resentment and mistrust that have prevailed since that time in relations between the two countries. . . . We are offering the Mexican perspective" (p. xi). Are the charges valid? Yes, but only in part. In the past too many American scholars confused diplomatic relations (a two-way street) with foreign-policy making. Their interest centered on Foggy Bottom, and their research on the files of the National Archives. But times change, and perspectives too, and our graduate students since the 1950s have been far better trained and more open-minded. As for studies of Mexico by Americans, I believe that the neglect and myopia cited by Meyer and Vázquez were not significant. Witness the writings of Howard Cline, Karl Schmitt, Michael Meyer, Peter H. Smith, Robert F. Smith, George W. Grayson, and (especially) Stanley R. Ross. No one could accuse Ross of failing to understand and appreciate the Mexican viewpoint.

If the book, which is on the whole balanced and even-handed, fails to break new paths, it is nonetheless valuable for its attention to detail and for being written by two scholars who lived through the events related in the final chapters. These, by Meyer, are the best part. He is a fine historian, and more. For years he has contributed regularly to the editorial pages of Mexico City newspapers, and he knows his country's politics like the back of his hand. He sorts out the devious paths that led Mexico into the current maze of financial and political bankruptcy. Further, he points up the insensitivity of a succession of chief executives and secretaries of state in Washington to Mexican problems and demonstrates their propensity to make decisions that impinge on Mexico's vital interests without, seemingly, considering the consequences of their actions. The authors never resort to the old, familiar aphorism, "Poor Mexico, so far from God and so close to the United States!" but they prove it on every page.

I have one final complaint. The presence of several typographical errors attests to the sad fact that even great university presses have fallen from grace and no longer pay sufficient attention to what was once a high standard of publication.

ROBERT E. QUIRK  
Indiana University

PETER CALVERT. *Guatemala: A Nation in Turmoil.* (Profiles: Nations of Contemporary Latin America.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1985. Pp. xv, 239. \$28.00.

Nearly half a century has passed since Chester Lloyd Jones published his *Guatemala, Past and Present* (1940). No adequate, comprehensive survey of Gua-

temalan history in English has appeared since then, despite several attempts. In the last two years, however, two volumes have appeared that principally concentrate on the post-1944 period, but which also offer a historical survey of Central America's most populous state. Comparison of these two works is inescapable.

In 1984 James Handy's *Gift of the Devil* appeared. In this study of rural Guatemala and the revolution of 1944–54, Handy incorporated recent scholarship and, although his section on the years before 1944 is brief, it offers a succinct, stimulating, and plausible survey, laying the groundwork for his excellent, detailed description and interpretation of Guatemala since World War II.

Peter Calvert's book suffers from comparison. He begins by complaining that "as is the case with other small countries, the literature on Guatemala is disappointingly small and rather erratic" (p. 1). Yet his endnotes and bibliography show that Calvert has ignored most of the existing literature. He relies too heavily on Jones's now largely obsolete work, and thus the liberal bias that for so long dominated Guatemalan historiography, and on which Jones's work mostly rested, comes through strongly in Calvert's book. On the other hand, we find no evidence that Calvert consulted the major works of William Sherman, George Lovell, Christopher Lutz, Andrés Saint Lu, Severo Martínez Peláez, Mario Rodríguez, David McCreery, J. M. García Laguardia, Julio Castellanos Cambranes, Thomas Karnes, Edelberto Torres Rivas, Ernesto Chinchilla Aguilar, Carlos Guzmán-Böckler, and many other important works on Guatemalan history. Calvert's coverage of the mid- to late twentieth century reflects fewer glaring omissions, but even here there are surprising deficiencies, including Mario Monteforte Toledo's and Jaime Díaz Rozzotto's works on the Guatemalan revolution. Thus, this work not only offers little that is new but also perpetuates myths and mistakes that have already been discarded by the current generation of Central American historians.

The work begins with topical chapters entitled "Land and People" and "Social Structure and Culture." These include an archaeological account that is confused at best, much misinformation, and several unjustified generalizations. The book includes, however, a discussion of Guatemalan literature, which, if not profound, is at least a convenient survey. Three chapters of political narrative follow, one each on the period 1523–1944, the revolution of 1944, and the period since 1954. Too many factual errors and failure to incorporate the recent scholarship mentioned above characterize these chronological narratives.

Three more topical chapters, on the economy, development schemes, and international relations,

contain additional historical commentary. These chapters, the most useful in the book, principally deal with the last half-century, although they include surprisingly little on the past decade. A brief conclusion, highly critical of Guatemala's parasitical military rule and of Ronald Reagan's policy there, completes the book.

Calvert does not appear to have applied the scholarly standards of his earlier distinguished work to this effort. He neither extends our knowledge nor synthesizes current research. This latest volume in Westview's "Nations of Contemporary Latin America" does little to recommend that series for instructional use.

RALPH LEE WOODWARD, JR.  
Tulane University

PETER BAKEWELL. *Miners of Red Mountain: Indian Labor in Potosí, 1545–1650*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984. Pp. xvi, 213. \$19.95.

Peter Bakewell apologizes in his preface for not having produced the synthesis of *potosino* history that he set out to write. No such apology is necessary. By limiting the scope of the book to "coerced" and "voluntary" Indian workers in the silver mines of Potosí during their first century of exploitation, he has allowed himself the space required to probe the complex issues concerning labor in this most important of Spanish American mining zones.

Bakewell gleans his data from the principal manuscript sources in Spain and the Americas, as well as published primary and secondary accounts (especially Luis Capoché's history of 1585). All sources are used with great care. Bakewell offers the reader not only the information contained therein but also the purposes for which the sources were probably produced (that is, how the data are apt to be skewed).

After an introduction to the geography and early history of Potosí, Bakewell discusses silver mining there prior to the introduction of amalgamation processing in 1572. A combination of unskilled and skilled Indian workers were then employed. Unskilled workers arrived under the direction of their lords (*curacas*) to earn the funds with which to pay their communities' tribute. Skilled laborers worked for the Spanish mine owners under contract, for personal gain. A labor crisis developed only when the profits to be had by both groups of workers fell to unacceptable levels and they left Potosí to work elsewhere. The draft labor regimen—or *mita*—that followed was not created by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo but, rather, grew from the efforts of miners and local government officials to keep Indian laborers at Potosí.

The longest chapter (the fourth) is entitled "Mingas," although it encompasses the work of both "coerced" (*mita*) and "voluntary" (*minga*) Indian workers from the 1570s to 1650. For, despite the establishment of the *mita*, "voluntary" labor continued to be central to silver production at Potosí. Here the author stresses that the terms "coerced" and "voluntary" must be used with caution, because both groups were obliged to work: the "voluntary" workers by economic pressure and the "coerced" through governmental demands. Moreover, individual Indians served in both capacities during their tenure at Potosí.

The fifth chapter—entitled "Work at Potosí"—might have come before the discussion of *mita* and *minga* workers. This would have provided for a direct tie to the conclusion, which considers whether the appearance and persuasiveness of "voluntary" associations between Indians and European employers—"free labor," if you will—represents, à la Steve Stern, an Indian adaptation to a new economic order ("Hispanization"). Bakewell argues that it does, and his conclusion is consistent with the findings of other historians of Potosí and its environs. That half of the workers at Potosí throughout the colonial period were "voluntary" also makes *potosino* labor patterns more comparable to those in New Spain (which Bakewell's earlier work on Zacatecas described in detail) and thus less of an exception.

This work therefore accomplishes the limited, though fundamental, goals set in the preface. The comprehensive history of Potosí—when it is written—will benefit from such topical, in-depth studies. The army of historians currently working on the various issues related to Potosí suggests that such a synthesis should soon be possible.

JEFFREY A. COLE  
University of Massachusetts

KENNETH J. ANDRIEN, *Crisis and Decline: The Viceroyalty of Peru in the Seventeenth Century*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1986. Pp. x, 287. \$27.50.

Kenneth J. Andrien provides in this book an important study on the seventeenth-century decline in an important part of the Spanish empire, the viceroyalty of Peru (here defined to include all the viceroyalty except New Granada, but focused primarily on Lima). Andrien bases his balanced and careful treatment on the decline of revenues in the central treasury of Lima and the inefficiency of the Lima tribunal of accounts. Andrien does not ascribe to either of the two historiographical interpretations concerning the Spanish empire in the seventeenth century—the view of generalized depression versus

the revisionist interpretation. Instead, he carefully points out that statistics indicating a radical drop in royal treasury remittances to Spain, particularly after 1650, are the product of greater economic diversification and regionalization in Peru, general prosperity even in the face of declining silver production, and greater expenditures of Peruvian revenues for regional and viceregal expenses. Peru, then, had a fiscal crisis, which by the end of the century led to near bankruptcy, but not a demographic or subsistence crisis. This sort of sophistication and detail clarifies a great deal.

Andrien handles the detail, which, being based on the vicissitudes of viceregal revenues, might be rather tedious, with a crisp writing style, clear explanations of the multitude of funds, accounts, offices, and bureaucrats and their roles, and an overall deftness that prevents the reader from feeling engulfed in an administrative history of a general accounts office. In the last two of the seven chapters the story comes together in a forceful portrait full of murky and divisive intrigue, the conflict between local and regional interests and imperial demands, graft and corruption, and regional accommodation that produces a clear sense of Peru's internal history and its contribution to the decline of imperial fortunes in the reigns of Philip IV and Charles II.

To bring to life the history of bureaucratic squabbles, taxes, and pettifogging accountants is no small feat. Andrien does this by downplaying his extensive statistical data—derived from the Peruvian and Spanish archives—and highlighting the people, political quandaries, and imperial drama that hinged on the all-important revenues from Peru, which had been Spain's treasure house but by the end of the century had fallen behind Mexico as the most important revenue-producing colony. The data are presented judiciously, with understandable definitions and explanations of revenue and expenditure, along with two helpful appendixes, a glossary, and tables.

Andrien's most intriguing argument is that the Lima treasury officials, who, after 1633 (when the crown began to sell high-ranking treasury appointments), were primarily locals rather than Spaniards, prevented the implementation of revenue measures decreed by Madrid. They did this not only because of their close relations with Peruvian elites but also because of sheer laziness, corruption, and malfeasance. (Government employees had 125 days of holiday throughout the year.) The failure to impose new taxes decreed by Spain satisfied local elites and prevented revolts provoked by fiscal pressure such as those that struck Catalonia, Portugal, Sicily, Naples, and even Mexico during midcentury. Peruvian viceregal treasury officials avoided profound reform even when under pressure from a series of *visitadores generales* and several reformist viceroys

and thus maintained a political balance of power that preserved imperial unity. The vital economic interests of Peruvian elites were not attacked, despite the *arbitrios* dreamed up by reformers in Madrid. It is a story of bad administration that made for local contentment—strong evidence for the view that loose government and virtual local autonomy characterized the Habsburg era.

The book suffers from a few lapses—notably Andrien's vagueness in identifying the local "political establishment" and a tendency to make only passing reference to the hardships visited on American Indians and the poor. Yet, these are minor faults in a well-researched and precisely written book that brings together many disparate threads into a sweeping survey of treasury and economic policy in seventeenth-century Spanish Peru.

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CHARLES BERGQUIST. *Labor in Latin America: Comparative Essays on Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia*. (Comparative Studies in History, Institutions, and Public Policy.) Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986. Pp. xiv, 397. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$14.95.

"Workers, especially those engaged in production for export, have played a determining role in the modern history of Latin American societies. Their struggle for material well being and control over their own lives has fundamentally altered the direction of national political evolution and the pattern of economic development in the countries of the region" (p. vii). In these words lies the kernel of Charles Bergquist's thesis. He seeks to prove that thesis with essays that contrast the development of four countries: Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia. Sandwiched around these case studies are an introductory chapter on labor history and historiography and a concluding chapter discussing the problems and promises of the author's approach. Bergquist argues for a judicious use of the new social history with a dash of world systems theory (plus a familiarity with structuralist economics).

This book does two things. On one level it presents an interpretation of four national histories with an emphasis on the working class and organized labor; on another level it carries on a lively debate with the literature of the social sciences on development and labor for Latin America and, to a lesser degree, on labor in general. Done in good critical taste and written in spritely style, it makes for lively reading and presents ample material for disagreement.

The case studies are mostly based on secondary studies and represent a synthesis of existing literature. Yet Bergquist has done archival research and undertaken personal interviews, which he uses effectively. He also relies on the short-lived boom of the 1970s in labor topics that produced a score or more of dissertations. He has not neglected novels or the use of language to make particular points about working-class culture or to illustrate class values. Each case study carefully traces national economic and social development to show the growth of the export economy and the role that workers came to play within it. Bergquist then examines the formation (or lack thereof) of working-class organizations and culture and shows how each process influenced the development of the export economy and national politics. The text challenges many traditional assumptions made by labor historians. In Chile, Bergquist argues, the strongest labor movement developed, in part, because of the isolation of the export enclave (nitrate) and blocked social mobility. In Argentina no strong, coherent labor movement evolved because workers in the export sectors (for example, meat packers) never could organize or failed to sustain vital, militant organizations prior to the 1940s. In addition, limited upward mobility opened alternate routes for individual workers. In Venezuela the ruling class successfully incorporated oil workers into a liberal, capitalist consensus after radical beginnings. The slow growth of small, independent coffee holdings worked against the formation of any wide-scale labor movement in Colombia and then, through rural migration, heavily influenced urban labor organization in postwar industrialization.

As the author admits, the interpretation is somewhat monocausal, ignoring completely, for example, the international dimension. And, although statements about the actions or reactions of the ruling class or military in relation to real or imagined working-class movements are more declarative than analytical, this may only reflect the state of current research. Further, as the last chapter points out, more work is needed on other countries before a comprehensive theory for Latin America (and, perhaps, by extension other Third World countries) can emerge. In all, this book represents a major statement about Latin American labor history and is certainly a work with which any investigator in the field must contend.

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JAMES WILLIAM PARK. *Rafael Núñez and the Politics of Colombian Regionalism, 1863–1886*. Baton Rouge:



Louisiana State University Press. 1985. Pp. xii, 304. \$35.00.

This book is a valuable addition to the sparse but growing literature on nineteenth-century Colombia. James William Park offers no striking new interpretations, but he gives a detailed and well-written account of the tortuous evolution of Colombian politics in an era often described as one of "organized anarchy." Students of the period will especially welcome his discussion of Conservative party strategy and of federal expenditures, both of which contributed to the fall of liberalism in the mid-1880s.

As the title implies, Park argues that, when Rafael Núñez first sought the presidency in 1875, he was above all a "regionalist candidate seeking to end control of the national government by the eastern mountain region" (p. 75). Núñez, a native of the neglected northern coastal region, failed in his first presidential bid but eventually presided over a shift of power from the eastern mountain region to the littoral, which included the northern coast as well as the large state of Cauca. This interpretation poses a paradox that Park recognizes but does not adequately address. Despite Núñez's regionalist credentials, after becoming president in 1880 he directed his energies toward replacing the federalist Constitution of 1863, which conferred ample powers of self-government on Colombia's "sovereign" states. Under the centralistic Constitution of 1886, which he inspired, the states were reduced to departmental status. Moreover, Park fails to show that the littoral gained materially from the accession to power of Núñez and his supporters, known as Independent Liberals. This failure is related to a second weakness of the book: the absence of an extended analysis of the Independent Liberal leadership. Park merely asserts that they hailed mainly from the littoral and that they supported Núñez's programs. In short, Park indicates that few differences of background or interests divided the Independents from their foes in the Radical wing of the Liberal party, a position contrary to that taken by other historians, notably Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, who see diverging economic interests at the root of the Independent-Radical split. Park also explicitly disagrees with Charles Bergquist's thesis that the fortunes of the Liberal party after 1850 were tied to the vicissitudes of export agriculture. Park stresses the effects of the 1876-77 war on the party, yet "that war had virtually nothing to do with economic factors" (pp. 268-69).

Park's book is based largely on contemporary newspapers and numerous manuscript collections in Bogotá and Popayán. Despite the reservations noted above, it is the most complete and thoroughly documented study available of this critical period in

Colombian history and a work that all future scholars will have to consult. The publisher also deserves congratulations for producing a volume virtually free of typographical errors and for placing the notes at the bottom of the page.

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SANDRA MCGEE-DEUTSCH. *Counterrevolution in Argentina, 1900-1932: The Argentine Patriotic League*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1986. Pp. x, 319. \$31.50.

Scholars have long considered the Argentine Patriotic League as one of that country's first and most important reactionary, antilabor political organizations. Despite many references to the league in the historical literature on Argentina, until now no extensive study of its origins, ideology, and activity has appeared. Sandra McGee-Deutsch's book admirably fills this notable gap.

The author begins her study by securely placing the league's development in the context of early twentieth-century Argentine history. She ably sketches the structural conditions that produced the labor unrest against which the league reacted as well as the ideological currents that contributed to the evolution of antiforeign, nationalist sentiments. These conditions and currents converged in January 1919 in a labor disturbance known as the "tragic week," which formed the crucible out of which the Patriotic League emerged.

In subsequent chapters McGee-Deutsch skillfully traces the league's formation, composition, organization, activity, and ideology. Drawing on useful quantitative data, she delineates the essentially upper-class, urban, and mature (in terms of age) character of the league's leadership as well as the more-varied nature of its overall membership. Of particular interest is her information on the role of women in many of the league's activities. Hardly a proponent of feminism, the league nonetheless allowed women more prominence and responsibility than did many other contemporary political organizations. Highlighted, too, are the league's repressive actions during the period of labor activism that accompanied the economic decline of the early 1920s as well as an insightful analysis of the main contributors to the group's particular brand of conservatism. Throughout, McGee-Deutsch provides a sophisticated and informative analysis of the relationship between the league and the ruling Radical party and government as well as the role of anti-Semitism in the league's ideology and actions.

The final chapters relate the league to subsequent nationalist groups of the far Right, place the organization in a comparative framework, and discuss its



influence on the Perón regime and the recent military dictatorship. Although the league, as the author convincingly argues, was essentially "homegrown," it bore a strong resemblance to fascist or protofascist organizations elsewhere. The discussion of the "fascist" nature of the league and its relationship to later developments in Argentine history will serve to stimulate debate on the larger questions that the author seeks to introduce into her study.

Well-written, extensively researched, balanced, and clearly presented, this work is an important contribution to our understanding of Argentine political history in the twentieth century. Focusing on a particular group in a particular country, it also raises broader issues concerning the nature of right-wing nationalism in other parts of the world. As such, it should be read by a wide scholarly audience.

RICHARD J. WALTER  
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RICHARD J. WALTER. *The Province of Buenos Aires and Argentine Politics, 1912-1943*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. xiv, 244. \$39.50.

The recent announcement that Argentina will move its capital city from the province of Buenos Aires to the province of Río Negro requires an understanding of the historical reasons for such a momentous change. Thus, Richard J. Walter's excellent monograph has arrived at an appropriate time, because it provides a clear explanation of the overwhelming influence of the province of Buenos Aires within the nation. This preeminent role results from its large size and population, its great industrial and agricultural wealth, and its strategic geographic position along the Plata estuary, surrounding the federal district of the same name. The problems created by this imbalance of regional power have persisted since independence, but Walter focuses on the period of most intense political rivalry between the elitist Conservative party and the middle-class Radical party, the years from 1912 to 1943.

The book is planned in a skilled and forthright manner. The emphasis is almost exclusively on politics; the theme is the influence of Buenos Aires on the course of national events; and the purpose is a case study of the always-troubling issue of why

Argentina failed to achieve a workable political system that would have led toward democracy. The approach is strictly chronological, from the period of Radical ascendancy after the introduction of the secret ballot assured that the middle- and working-classes of the province could express their vote freely, through the Conservative domination by fraudulent elections after the military uprising of 1930, and finally to a growing Radical resurgence until another army action paved the way for Peronism after 1943. During these years the provincial governors and the parties they represented existed in a state of tension with the federal government, which often got its way with a constitutionally sanctioned intervention.

A notable strength of Walter's study is his firm command of a wide range of sources, not only newspapers and memoirs but also diplomatic dispatches and oral interviews. On the basis of this solid foundation, the author interprets the motives for and the significance of events in a careful and judicious manner, so that the reader is led to understand the flow and connection of events. Often, he revises accepted views. For example, he demonstrates that the so-called *Década Infame* of the thirties was not just a period of fraud and repression but, rather, one of significant political activities and realignments that prepared the way for Peronism. Indeed, the rise to power of Juan Perón after 1943 is intimately linked to the political history of Buenos Aires, as Walter emphasizes in his conclusion.

Latin American historiography has been advanced substantially by the current emphasis on regional studies. Walter's book should stimulate interest in Argentina's provincial history and lead the way toward a clearer understanding of the nation's political, economic, and social foundations. Obviously, the history of Buenos Aires province needs to be completed with chronological studies for the nineteenth century and for the Peronist era; particularly essential are analyses of social and economic change in this most significant region. Further, this model should be extended to other key provinces and regions, for regional history is certain to be an ever more important concern as Argentina undertakes to move its capital.

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## Collected Essays

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These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

CHRISTOPHER ANDREW, editor. *Codebreaking and Signals Intelligence*. London: Frank Cass; distributed by Biblio Distribution Center, Totowa, N.J. 1986. Pp. 137. \$22.50.

CHRISTOPHER ANDREW, *Codebreaking and Signals Intelligence*. CHRISTOPHER ANDREW and KEITH NEILSON, *Tsarist Codebreakers and British Codes*. J. W. M. CHAPMAN, *No Final Solution: A Survey of the Cryptanalytical Capabilities of German Military Agencies, 1926–35*. A. G. DENNISTON, *The Government Code and Cypher School Between the Wars*. GORDON WELCHMAN, *From Polish Bomba to British Bombe: The Birth of Ultra*. CHRISTOPHER MORRIS, *Ultra's Poor Relations*. ROGER AUSTIN, *Surveillance and Intelligence under the Vichy Regime: The Service du Contrôle Technique, 1939–45*.

DONALD W. FISKE and RICHARD A. SHWEDER, editors. *Metatheory in Social Science: Pluralisms and Subjectivities*. (Proceedings of a Conference on "Potentialities for Knowledge in Social Sciences," 1983.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1986. Pp. x, 390. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$16.95.

RICHARD A. SHWEDER and DONALD W. FISKE, Introduction: Uneasy Social Science. ROY D'ANDRADE, Three Scientific World Views and the Covering Law Model. PHILIP E. CONVERSE, Generalization and the Social Psychology of "Other Worlds." DONALD W. FISKE, Specificity of Method and Knowledge in Social Science. LEE J. CRONBACH, Social Inquiry by and for Earthlings. DONALD T. CAMPBELL, Science's Social System of Validity-Enhancing Collective Belief Change and the Problems of the Social Sciences. KENNETH J. GERGEN, Correspondence versus Autonomy in the Language of Understanding Human Action. RICHARD A. SHWEDER, Divergent Rationalities. PAUL F. SECORD, Explanation in the Social Sciences and in Life Situations. ARTHUR KLEINMAN, Some Uses and Misuses of the Social Sciences in Medicine. AARON V. CICOUREL, Social Measurement as the Creation of Expert Systems. DONALD N. LEVINE, The Forms

and Functions of Social Knowledge. FRANK M. RICHTER, Non-Linear Behavior. WILLIAM C. WIMSATT, Heuristics and the Study of Human Behavior. PAUL E. MEEHL, What Social Scientists Don't Understand. ALEXANDER ROSENBERG, Philosophy of Science and the Potentials for Knowledge in the Social Sciences. PHILIP S. HOLZMAN, Similarity and Collaboration within the Sciences. BARBARA FRANKEL, Two Extremes on the Social Science Commitment Continuum. DONALD W. FISKE and RICHARD A. SHWEDER, Pluralisms and Subjectivities.

IRA A. GLAZIER and LUIGI DE ROSA, editors. *Migration across Time and Nations: Population Mobility in Historical Contexts*. (Eighth International Congress on Economic History, 1982.) New York: Holmes and Meier. 1986. Pp. viii, 384. \$49.50.

IRA A. GLAZIER and LUIGI DE ROSA, Introduction. A. J. H. LATHAM, Southeast Asia: A Preliminary Survey, 1800–1914. FRANK SPOONER, Batavia, 1673–1790: A City of Colonial Growth and Migration. M. S. A. RAO, Migration, Agricultural Development, and Deprivation: A Case Study of a Tribal Situation in India. CORMAC Ó GRÁDA, Across the Briny Ocean: Some Thoughts on Irish Emigration to America, 1800–1850. ROBERT P. SWIERENGA, Dutch International Migration and Occupational Change: A Structural Analysis of Multinational Linked Files. ROBERT C. OSTERGREN, Swedish Migration to North America in Transatlantic Perspective. LUIGI DI COMITÉ, Aspects of Italian Emigration, 1881–1915. KRISTIN RUGGIERO, Social and Psychological Factors in Migration from Italy to Argentina: From the Waldensian Valleys to San Gustavo. WALTER D. KAMPHOEFFNER, At the Crossroads of Economic Development: Background Factors Affecting Emigration from Nineteenth-Century Germany. AVRAHAM BARKAI, German-Jewish Migration in the Nineteenth Century, 1830–1910. SHAUL STAMPER, The Geographic Background of East European Jewish Migration to the United States before World War I. JULIANNA PUSKÁS, Hungarian Migration Patterns, 1880–1930: From Macroanalysis to Microanalysis. IVAN ČISMIĆ, Emigration from Yugoslavia prior to World War II. JANA ENGLOVÁ, The Effects of Migration on the Demarkation of Industrial Areas. DEIRDRE MAGEEAN, Ulster Emigration to Philadelphia, 1847–1865: A Preliminary Analysis Using Passenger Lists. RUDOLPH J. VECOLI, The Formation of Chicago's "Little Italies." ROBERT J. KLEINER *et al.*, International Migration and Internal Migration: A Comprehensive Theoretical

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THOMAS NIPPERDEY, *Nachdenken über die deutsche Geschichte: Essays*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1986. Pp. 234. DM 38.

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ROBERT A. SCALAPINO *et al.*, editors. *Internal and External Security Issues in Asia*. (Research Papers and Policy Studies.) Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies. 1986. Pp. 273.

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- ROSENZWEIG, ROY, et al., editors. *Government and the Arts in Thirties America: A Guide to Oral Histories and Other Research Materials*. Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press; distributed by University Publishing Associates, Lanham, Md. 1986. Pp. xiii, 329. Cloth \$27.00, paper \$16.50.
- SEMONCHE, JOHN E. *Religion and Constitutional Government in the United States: A Historical Overview with Sources*. Carrboro, N.C.: Signal Books. 1986. Pp. viii, 244. \$16.95.
- SHOWMAN, RICHARD K., et al., editors. *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*. Volume 4, 11 May 1779-31 October 1779. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Rhode Island Historical Society. 1986. Pp. xxxvii, 614. \$32.50.
- SITTON, THAD, and LINCOLN KING, editors. *The Loblolly Book II: Moonshining, Basket Making, Hog Killing, Catfishing, and Other Affairs of Plain Texas Living*. Austin: Texas Monthly Press. 1986. Pp. viii, 228. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$12.95.
- STRICKLAND, RON. *Vermonters: Oral Histories from Down Country to the Northeast Kingdom*. San Francisco: Chronicle. 1986. Pp. vi, 186. \$12.95.
- SUPPIGER, JOSEPH, et al. *Journey to New Switzerland*. Translated by RAYMOND J. SPAHN. Edited by JOHN C. ABBOTT. Foreword by JOSEPH BLAKE KOEFLI. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1987. Pp. xxxiv, 236.
- TEALE, EDWIN WAY. *Dune Boy: The Early Years of a Naturalist*. (Library of Indiana Classics.) Reprint. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1986. Pp. viii, 275. \$7.95.
- WHITE, WILLIAM S. *The Making of a Journalist*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1986. Pp. 248. \$22.00.
- WILLCOX, WILLIAM B., et al., editors. *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*. Volume 25, October 1, 1777, through February 28, 1778. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1986. Pp. lxxv, 779. \$55.00.
- WILSON, JOHN F., editor. *Church and State in America: A Bibliographic Guide; The Colonial and Early National Periods*. New York: Greenwood. 1986. Pp. xi, 436. \$49.95.
- WILTSE, CHARLES M., and MICHAEL J. BIRKNER, editors. *The Papers of Daniel Webster*. Volume 7, Correspondence. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H. 1986. Pp. xxxiii, 695. \$70.00.



# Other Books Received

Books listed were received by the *AHR* between October 27, 1986 and January 10, 1987. Books that will be reviewed are not usually listed, but listing does not necessarily preclude subsequent review.

## GENERAL

- BLOCH, MICHAEL. *Operation Willi: The Nazi Plot to Kidnap the Duke of Windsor*. New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1984. Pp. xvi, 266. \$18.95.
- ELLIS, JOHN. *The Social History of the Machine Gun*. Foreword by EDWARD C. FZELL. Paperback edition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1986. Pp. 192. \$8.95.
- GOLBY, J. M., and A. W. PURDUE. *The Making of the Modern Christmas*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1986. Pp. 144. \$19.95.
- JAYAWARDENA, KUMARI. *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*. London: Zed; distributed by Biblio. Totowa N.J. 1986. Pp. 269.
- MIKESELL, RAYMOND F. *Stockpiling Strategic Materials: An Evaluation of the National Program*. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute. 1986. Pp. ix, 68.
- MILLET, HELENE, compiler. *Informatique et prosopographie*. (Actes de la table ronde du CNRS. 1984.) Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1985. Pp. 360. 110 Fr.
- OATES, STEPHEN B., editor. *Biography as High Adventure: Life-Writers Speak on Their Art*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1986. Pp. xiii, 146. Cloth \$20.00, paper \$8.95.
- SALAMAN, REDCLIFFE. *The History and Social Influence of the Potato*. Assisted by W. G. BURTON. Foreword by J. G. HAWKES. 2d ed., rev. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. xxxv, 685. \$16.95.

## ANCIENT

- BOOGHS, WOLFGANG. *Die Finanzverwaltung im Altertum*. Sankt Augustin, F.R.G.: Hans Richarz. 1985. Pp. ix, 209. DM 29.50.
- ELLIS, J. R. *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1976. Pp. 312. \$12.50.
- MALEK, JAROMIR. *In the Shadow of the Pyramids: Egypt during the Old Kingdom*. Photographs by WERNER FORMAN. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1986. Pp. 128. \$22.50.
- SEAGER, ROBIN. *Ammianus Marcellinus: Seven Studies in His Language and Thought*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1986. Pp. ix, 162. \$22.00.

## MEDIEVAL

- ECO, UMBERTO. *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1986. Pp. x, 131. \$12.95.
- LEWIS, ANDREW W. *Le sang royal: La famille capétienne et l'Etat France, X-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Translated from English by JEAN-

NIE CARLIER. Foreword by GEORGES DUBY. (Bibliothèque des histoires.) Paris: Gallimard. 1986. Pp. 436. 160 fr.

## BRITAIN AND IRELAND

- JACOBS, BRIAN D. *Black Politics and Urban Crisis in Britain*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1986. Pp. viii, 227. \$44.50.
- ST. JOHN-STEVAS, NORMAN, editor. *The Collected Works of Walter Bagehot*. Volume 12, *The Letters*; volume 13, *The Letters*; volume 14, *Miscellany*; volume 15, *Miscellany*. London: The Economist. 1986. Pp. xiii, 352; 353-771; xv, 426; xii, 475.
- WILLETT, PETER. *Makers of the Modern Thoroughbred*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1986. Pp. 272. \$26.00.

## FRANCE

- DARNTON, ROBERT. *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 218. Cloth \$16.50, paper \$7.95.
- HAHN, ROGER. *The Anatomy of a Scientific Institution: The Paris Academy of Sciences, 1666-1803*. Paperback edition. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1971. Pp. xiv, 433. \$14.95.
- REICHARDT, ROLF, et al., editors. *Handbuch politisch-sozialer Grundbegriffe in Frankreich 1680-1820*. Volumes 1/2, *Allgemeine Bibliographie; Einleitung; Die Wörterbücher in der Französischen Revolution*. (Ancien Régime, Aufklärung und Revolution, number 10.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1985. Pp. 196. DM 136.
- REICHARDT, ROLF, et al., editors. *Handbuch politisch-sozialer Grundbegriffe in Frankreich 1680-1820*. Volume 3, *Philosophie, philosophie; Terreur, terroriste, terrorisme*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1985. Pp. 136. DM 68.
- REICHARDT, ROLF, et al., editors. *Handbuch politisch-sozialer Grundbegriffe in Frankreich 1680-1820*. Volume 4, *Civilité; Fanatique, fanatisme*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1986. Pp. 119.
- REICHARDT, ROLF, et al., editors. *Handbuch politisch-sozialer Grundbegriffe in Frankreich 1680-1820*. Volume 5, *Critique; Financier, banquier, capitaliste; Matérialisme, matérialiste*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1986. Pp. 92.
- REICHARDT, ROLF, et al., editors. *Handbuch politisch-sozialer Grundbegriffe in Frankreich 1680-1820*. Volume 6, *Analyse, expérience; Cosmopolite, cosmopolitisme; Démocratie, démocrates*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1986. Pp. 101.
- REICHARDT, ROLF, et al., editors. *Handbuch politisch-sozialer Grundbegriffe in Frankreich 1680-1820*. Volume 7, *Honnête homme, honnêteté, honnêtes gens; Nation*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1986. Pp. 111.
- STERNHELL, ZEEV. *Neither Right nor Left: Fascist Ideology in France*. Translated by DAVID MASEL. Berkeley and Los

Angeles: University of California Press. 1986. Pp. xxii, 416. \$45.00.

#### NORTHERN EUROPE

ENDÉN, RAUNO. *Historian päivät 6.-7.11.1982* [Historical Conference, November 6-7, 1982]. (Historiallinen Arkisto, number 81.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1983. Pp. 289.

HIETALA, MARJATTA, et al., editors. *Katsauksia, tulkintoja, näkemyksiä historiasta historioitsijalle* [Surveys, Interpretations, and Views of History for Historians]. (Historiallinen Arkisto, number 82.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1984. Pp. 390.

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

SHERMAN, A. J., translator. *The Raven of Zürich: The Memoirs of Felix Somary*. Foreword by OTTO VON HABSBURG. New York: St. Martin's or C. Hurst, London. 1986. Pp. xii, 310. \$29.95.

STEINMETZ, DAVID C. *Luther in Context*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1986. Pp. xi, 146. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$7.95.

TREUE, WILHELM. *Geschichte einer Hamburgischen Anwaltssozietät. Von der Gründung der Kanzlei im Jahre 1822 bis zur Gegenwart*. (Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte, number 48.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1986. Pp. 84. DM 26.

#### ITALY

SCHUMAN, REINHOLD. *Italy in the Last Fifteen Hundred Years: A Concise History*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1986. Pp. xxxii, 397. Cloth \$36.50, paper \$18.95.

#### EASTERN EUROPE

DOBZANSKI, JAN, and ALBIN KORPRUKOWIAK, editors. *Ze studiów nad Komisją Edukacji Narodowej i szkolnictwem na Lubelszczyźnie* [Studies on the National Education Commission and School System of the Lublin Region]. Lublin: Uniwersytet Marie Curie-Skłodowska. Pp.

GADNEY, REG. *Cry Hungary! Uprising, 1956*. New York: Atheneum. 1986. Pp. 169. \$16.95.

SLÁMA, JIŘÍ, and KAREL KAPLAN. *Die Parlamentswahlen in der Tschechoslowakei, 1946-1948: Eine statistische Analyse*. (Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, number 53.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1986. Pp. 136.

#### SOVIET UNION

BLACK, CYRIL E. *Understanding Soviet Politics: The Perspective of Russian History*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1986. Pp. xi, 308. Cloth \$38.50, paper \$17.00.

*The Soviet Union, 1984/85: Events, Problems, Perspectives*. Edited by the FEDERAL INSTITUTE FOR EAST EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES. (Westview Special Studies on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1986. Pp. xix, 349. Paper \$40.00.

VAN GOUDEVEER, ALBERT P. *The Limits of Destalinization in the Soviet Union: Political Rehabilitations in the Soviet Union since Stalin*. Translated by FRANS HJJKOOP. New York: St. Martin's. 1986. Pp. 276. \$35.00.

YARMOLINSKY, AVRAHAM. *Road to Revolution: A Century of Russian Radicalism*. Reprint. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1986. Pp. xiii, 369. \$9.95.

#### NEAR EAST

GOODSELL, GRACE E. *The Elementary Structures of Political Life: Rural Development in Pahlavi Iran*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1986. Pp. 362. \$45.00.

HOFFMAN, BIRGIT. *Persische Geschichte 1694-1835 erlebt, erinnert und gefunden*. Volume 2, *Das Rustam at-tawārih in deutscher Bearbeitung*. (Islamwissenschaftliche Quellen und Texte aus deutschen Bibliotheken, number 4.) Bamberg, F.R.G.: GmbH; distributed by Klaus Schwartz, Berlin. 1986. Pp. 429-909.

INGHAM, BRUCE. *Bedouin of Northern Arabia: Traditions of the Āl-Dhafir*. London: KPI and Routledge and Kegan Paul, in association with Methuen, New York. 1986. Pp. xvi, 136. \$39.95.

ISMAEL, TAREQ Y., and JACQUELINE S. ISMAEL. *The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen: Politics, Economics, and Society; The Politics of Socialist Transformation*. (Marxist Regimes.) Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner or Frances Pinter, London. 1986. Pp. xxii, 183. \$27.50.

#### AFRICA

FILATOVA, I. I. *Istoriia Kenii v novoe i noveishee vremia* [A History of Kenya in Modern and Contemporary Times]. Moscow: Nauka. 1985. Pp. 376. 3 r. 20 k.

#### UNITED STATES

ADAMS, CHARLES SCOTT, and MICHAEL ALLEN WHITE. *Historical Markers of McLennan County*. Waco, Tex.: McLennan Community College. 1986. Pp. 95.

BAKER, T. LINDSAY. *Ghost Towns of Texas*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1986. Pp. ix, 196. \$24.95.

BARNEY, WILLIAM L. *The Passage of the Republic: An Interdisciplinary History of Nineteenth-Century America*. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath. 1987. Pp. xv, 429, xxx.

BARNHART, JOE EDWARD. *The Southern Baptist Holy War*. Austin: Texas Monthly Press. 1986. Pp. x, 273. \$16.95.

BURNS, JAMES MACGREGOR. *The Workshop of Democracy: From the Emancipation Proclamation to the Era of the New Deal*. (American Experiment.) Paperback edition. New York: Vintage of Random House. 1986. Pp. xi, 670. \$12.95.

BUSKIRK, WINFRED. *The Western Apache: Living with the Land Before 1950*. (Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 177.) Foreword by MORRIS E. OPLER. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1986. Pp. xiv, 273. \$22.50.

CARPENTER, KENNETH E. *The First 350 Years of the Harvard University Library: Description of an Exhibition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Library. 1986. Pp. xii, 216. \$20.00.

CHRISTIANSON, J. R., editor. *Scandinavians in America: Literary Life*. Decorah, Iowa: Symra Literary Society. 1985. Pp. 342. \$24.00.

CHURCHILL, ROBERT KING. *Lest We Forget: A Personal Reflection on the Formation of The Orthodox Presbyterian Church*. Philadelphia: Committee for the Historian of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church. 1986. Pp. 135. \$4.95.

CLARK, CLIFFORD EDWARD, JR. *The American Family Home, 1800-1960*. Paperback edition. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1986. Pp. xvi, 281.

COHEN, DAVID STEVEN. *The Ramapo Mountain People*. Paperback edition. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1986. Pp. xvi, 285. \$10.95.

COMBS, JERALD A. *American Diplomatic History: Two Centuries of Changing Interpretations*. Paperback edition. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1986. Pp. xii, 413. \$11.95.

DEMPSEY, STANLEY, and JAMES E. FELL, JR. *Mining the Summit: Colorado's Ten Mile District, 1860-1960*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1986. Pp. xiv, 306. \$19.95.

DENNISON, CHARLES G., editor. *The Orthodox Presbyterian Church, 1936-1986*. Philadelphia: Committee for the Historian of the Presbyterian Orthodox Church. 1986. Pp. 357. \$21.00.

DIVINE, ROBERT A., et al. *America: Past and Present*. 2d ed. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman. 1987. Pp. xxxi, 977. \$29.95.

- FLEMING, PAULA RICHARDSON, and JUDITH LUSKEY. *The North American Indians in Early Photographs*. New York: Harper and Row. 1986. Pp. 256. \$35.00.
- FRASSANTO, WILLIAM A. *Grant and Lee: The Virginia Campaigns, 1864–1865*. 2d ed. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1986. Pp. 442. \$13.95.
- FRAZIER, KENDRICK. *People of Chaco: A Canyon and Its Culture*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1986. Pp. 224. \$19.95.
- FREEMAN, DOUGLAS SOUTHALL. *Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command*. Volume 1, *Manassas to Malvern Hill*; volume 2, *Cedar Mountain to Chancellorsville*; volume 3, *Gettysburg to Appomattox*. Reprint. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1970. Pp. lvi, 773; xlv, 760; xlv, 862. \$16.95 each.
- GRAY, COLIN S. *Maritime Strategy, Geopolitics, and the Defense of the West*. New York: Ramapo, for National Strategy Information Center. 1986. Pp. viii, 85. \$8.95.
- HOOVER, KENNETH R. *Ideology and Political Life*. Monterey, Calif.: Brooks/Cole of Wadsworth, Belmont, Calif. 1987. Pp. xii, 189. \$13.50.
- HOULIHAN, PATRICK T., and BETSY E. HOULIHAN. *Lummi in the Pueblos*. (Entrada Book.) Flagstaff, Ariz.: Northland. 1986. Pp. xi, 155. \$19.95.
- HUNT, RAY C., and BERNARD NORLING. *Behind Japanese Lines: An American Guerrilla in the Philippines*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1986. Pp. xiii, 258. \$20.00.
- IDE, ARTHUR FREDERICK. *Evangelical Terrorism: Censorship, Falwell, Robertson, and the Seamy Side of Christian Fundamentalism*. Las Colinas, Tex.: Scholars Books. 1986. Pp. xxxii, 193. \$12.95.
- JENKINS, NED J., and RICHARD A. KRAUSE. *The Tombigbee Watershed in Southeastern Prehistory*. University: University of Alabama Press. 1986. Pp. xii, 156. \$18.95.
- JURY, MARK. *The Vietnam Photo Book*. Preface by BERNARD EDELMAN. New York: Vintage of Random House. 1986. Pp. 160. \$12.95.
- JOHNPOLL, BERNARD K., and HARVEY KLEHR, editors. *Biographical Dictionary of the American Left*. New York: Greenwood. 1986. Pp. xiii, 493.
- LAMAR, HOWARD R., editor. *The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West*. New York: Harper and Row. 1986. Pp. x, 1306. \$29.95.
- MCKENNA, MARIAN C. *Tapping Reeve and the Litchfield Law School*. New York: Oceana. 1986. Pp. xvi, 207.
- MARCHAND, ROLAND. *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940*. Paperback edition. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1986. Pp. xiii, 448. \$14.95.
- MERRY, HENRY J. *The Constitutional System: The Group Character of the Elected Institutions*. New York: Praeger. 1986. Pp. x, 215. \$35.00.
- MORRISON, SAMUEL ELIOT. *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636–1936*. Paperback edition. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1986. Pp. viii, 512. \$9.95.
- NORRELL, ROBERT J. *Reaping the Whirlwind: The Civil Rights Movement in Tuskegee*. Reprint. New York: Vintage of Random House. 1986. Pp. x, 254. \$9.95.
- REIGER, JOHN F. *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*. 2d. ed., rev. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1986. Pp. 316. \$11.95.
- RINHART, FLOYD, and MARION RINHART. *Victorian Florida: America's Last Frontier*. Atlanta, Ga.: Peachtree. 1986. Pp. 223. \$24.95.
- ROBINSON, FORREST G. *In Bad Faith: The Dynamics of Deception in Mark Twain's America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1986. Pp. viii, 255. \$18.50.
- ROLLE, ANDREW. *Occidental College: A Centennial History*. Los Angeles: Occidental College. 1986. Pp. x, 240. \$24.00.
- SCRANTON, PHILIP, and WALTER LICHT. *Work Sights: Industrial Philadelphia, 1890–1950*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1986. Pp. 279. \$29.95.
- SILVERMAN, DEBORA. *Selling Culture: Bloomingdale's, Diana Vreeland, and the New Aristocracy of Taste in Reagan's America*. New York: Pantheon. 1986. Pp. xv, 175. \$17.95.
- SIMMONS, MARC. *Following the Santa Fe Trail: A Guide for Modern Travelers*. 2d ed. Santa Fe, N. Mex.: Ancient City. 1986. Pp. xvii, 214. Cloth \$22.95, paper \$10.95.
- SMITH, P. DAVID. *Ouray: Chief of the Utes*. Ouray, Colo.: Wayfinder. 1986. Pp. 222. \$9.95.
- SOLT, LÁSZLÓ. 1787: *Az Amerikai Történetírás Évszázados Vitájának Újabb Állomásai* [The Newest Interpretations of the Century-Old Debate of American Historiography]. (Értékezősek A Történeti Tudományok Köréből, number 106.) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1985. Pp. 157. 24 Ft.
- WARD, MARTHA C. *Poor Women, Powerful Men: America's Great Experiment in Family Planning*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1986. Pp. xvii, 189.
- WHITE, RONALD C., JR. et al. *American Christianity: A Case Approach*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 1986. Pp. xv, 188. \$11.95.

## CANADA

- CARLOS, ANN M. *The North American Fur Trade, 1804–1821: A Study in the Life-Cycle of a Duopoly*. (American Business History.) New York: Garland. 1986. Pp. 232. \$30.00.
- INWOOD, KRIS E. *The Canadian Charcoal Iron Industry, 1870–1914*. (American Business History.) New York: Garland. 1986. Pp. viii, 398. \$55.00.
- LUNN, ALICE JEAN E. *Développement économique de la Nouvelle France, 1713–1760*. Translated by BRIGITTE MONFEL-NISH. (Histoire économique et sociale du Québec.) Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal. 1986. Pp. xiv, 348. \$24.50.

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# Communications

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*A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."*

## ARTICLES

### TO THE EDITOR:

I read with interest the scholarly article by Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" (*AHR*, 91 [1986]: 1053–75), which concerns a new definition of and a new methodology for gender as a tool of historical analysis. The last part of the article mentions politics and power as one big area in which the profession can apply this new concept of gender. It is dismaying, however, that Scott links outlawing abortion with issues such as forbidding women's participation in politics, prohibiting wage-earning for mothers, and imposing female dress codes. Opposition to abortion is mentioned along with authoritarian regimes such as those of the Jacobins in France, Stalin, Hitler, and Khomeini (p. 1072).

As a matter of historical fact, feminists well into this century opposed both legal and illegal abortion, referring to abortion as the killing of children and a degradation of women. Some feminists today (Feminists for Life) would agree. From roughly the third quarter of the nineteenth to the third quarter of this century, representative democracies proscribed the practice. Many democracies still have prohibitions—the Republic of Ireland, for example, as of 1983 forbade this procedure in its constitution. The preamble to the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, passed unanimously by the United Nations' General Assembly in 1959, calls for legal protection of children before birth. In other words, past and present opponents of legalized abortion have based their case on the issues of children's rights in particular

and human rights in general. Although many would disagree with this position, it is based on intellectual and historical foundations. Hence, abortion is a controversy of major intellectual proportions, and Joan Scott's statement is a political one in an otherwise objective, scholarly, and penetrating article.

Scott's article concerns the use or misuse of the word "gender" by feminist historians who consider it more scholarly sounding than "women's history," which seems to have political overtones. Her final statement, nevertheless, indicates she has not extricated herself from bias in reinterpreting the word gender: "this new history will leave open possibilities for thinking about current feminist political strategies and the (utopian) future, for it suggests that gender must be redefined and restructured in conjunction with a vision of political and social equality that includes not only sex, but class and race" (p. 1075).

To this I would finally add that the subject of abortion, while it involves questions of sex and sex discrimination, also and more precisely involves questions of age (at the most unexplored end of its spectrum) and age discrimination. Age, like sex, class, and race, is a factor of politics, power, and equality.

JOHN J. HUNT  
*Saint Joseph's College*  
*West Hartford, Connecticut*

Joan Scott was invited to reply to John Hunt's letter and declined to do so.

THE EDITOR

## ERRATUM

In the "Other Books Received" section of the December 1986 issue of the *Review*, James T. Patterson's book was incorrectly listed as *America's Struggle against Poverty, 1900–1980* (*AHR*, 91 [1986]: 1320). The correct title is *America's Struggle against Poverty, 1900–1985*. The editors regret any confusion this error has caused.

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# American Historical Association

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Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.  
Office: 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

President: Natalie Zemon Davis, *Princeton University*  
President-elect: Akira Iriye, *University of Chicago*  
Executive Director: Samuel R. Gammon  
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**MEMBERSHIP:** Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership and subscription total is approximately 17,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

**MEETINGS:** The Association's annual meeting takes place December 26–29. The meeting in 1987 will be held in Washington, D.C. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

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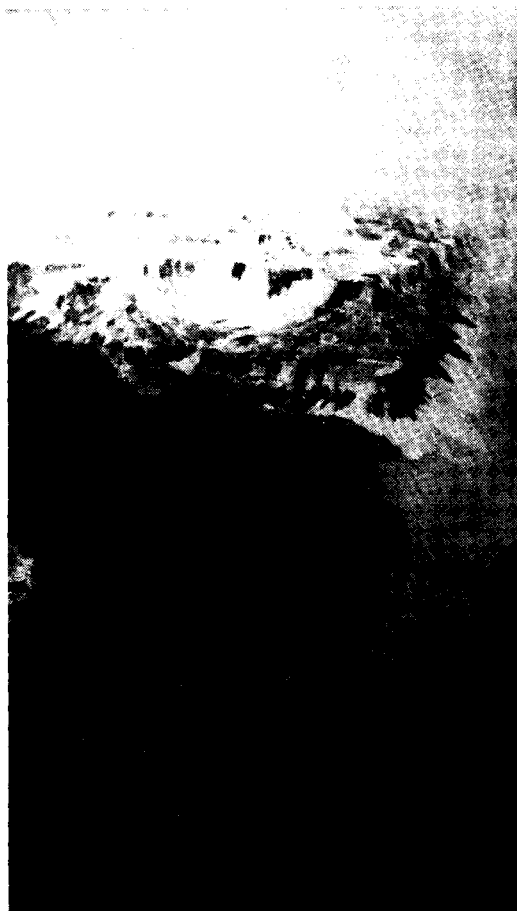
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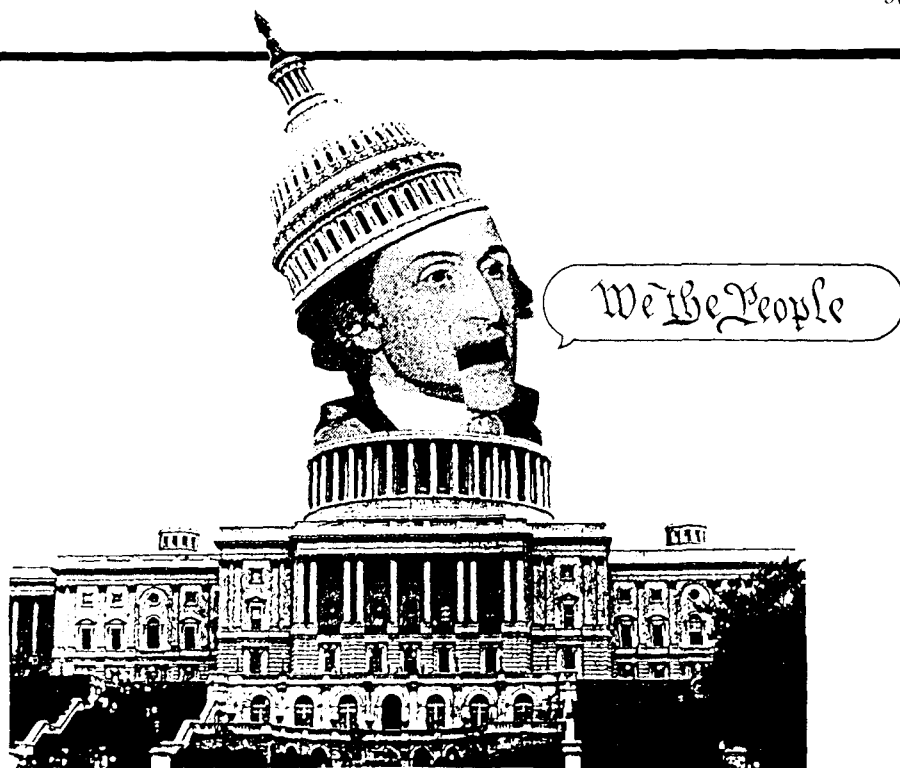
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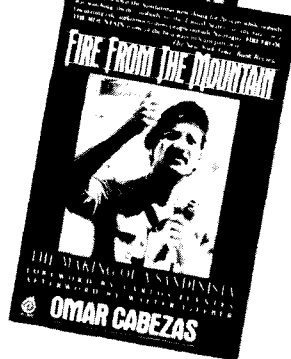
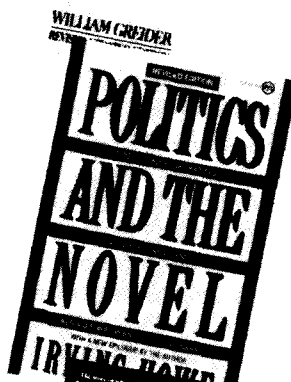
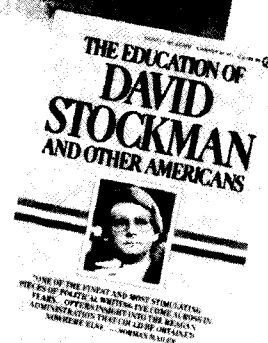
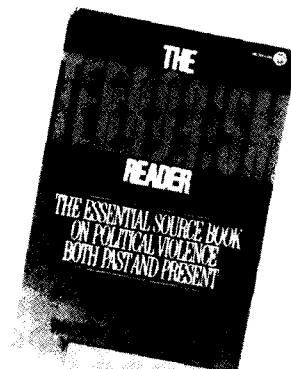
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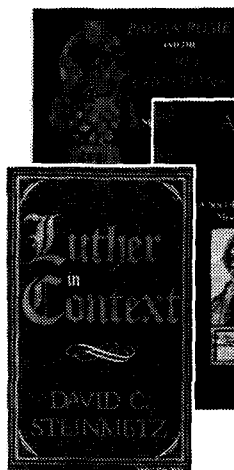
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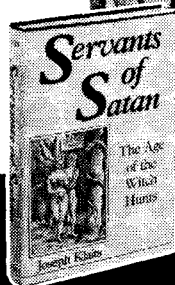
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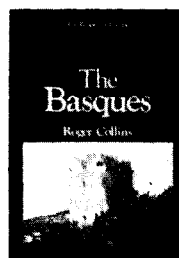
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